

NATPAT AND ORDO

A Study of the way of life and military
organization of the Khitan Emperors and their people

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Abstract of

"Natpat and Ordo ". A Study of the way of life and military organization of the Khitan Emperors and their people.

The present thesis is a study of the life of the emperors of the Khitan-Liao dynasty and its influence on the Liao institutions--in particular, the Shu-mi Yuan, the dual Chancellery administration system. After their conquest of a portion of China, the Liao emperors continued to pursue their original nomadic way of life, spending the whole of each year in seasonal camps, or na-po (natpat)--as they were called at that time. For the administration of their Khitan and Chinese subjects, who led different ways of life, the Liao rulers established two Chancelleries, one for their Khitan subjects and the other for the Chinese. Thus, contrary to the general assumption that the Khitan were sinicized, the Khitan-Liao Empire actually consisted of two nations of different cultures.

The study of the institutions of the Liao na-po throws light not only on the Liao administration but also on the life of the rulers and institutions of the succeeding Jurchin-Chin, Mongol Yuan, and Manchu-Ch'ing dynasties.

The main body of the thesis discusses a number of problems each of which is examined in greater detail in a subsequent section. "Some remarks on the office of the Shu-mi Shih" traces the rise and development of that office which has so far been mistakenly taken as an organ concerning merely with military affairs. It was actually, in the first stage of its development, a post comparable to that of chiefminister. "The theory of legitimacy" explains the reasons why the history of the non-Chinese dynasties have been neglected by the Chinese people. The section on Peking, explains the role played by Peking in Chinese history as the link between the Chinese and the non-Chinese worlds. The section "Ordo" is a study of the Khitan military organization. All these have either been dealt with before or not been adequately explained.

PREFACE.

The present work is part of an attempt to study some of the important non-Chinese aspects of Chinese history. By "Chinese" we mean the han-jên, i.e. the agricultural people south of the Great Wall who formed the nucleus of the "middle Kingdom" and who comprise the overwhelming majority of the Chinese population. By "non-Chinese" we mean those who form the racial minorities in various outlying regions of China, and, in particular, in so far as the following pages are concerned, those who lived to the north of the Great Wall.

China was repeatedly conquered and ruled wholly or in part by such non-Chinese peoples, whose descendants have either been absorbed into the Chinese population, or live side by side with the han-jên within the boundaries of China. The story of these peoples, therefore, constitutes an essential part of my country's history. Under the influence of the theory of legitimacy, or chêng-t'ung, the Chinese people have been prevented from appreciating fully the part played by these non-Chinese peoples. Their original ways of life are little known and the

institutions of their dynasties remain mostly obscure.

Originally a student of the Sung period (960-1279), I worked on the political reforms carried out by Wang An-shih (1021-86), the great Northern Sung statesman. I realized that these reforms were to a considerable degree a direct result of the submission of Sung to its contemporary non-Chinese dynasty to the north, the Khitan-Liao dynasty (907-1125). In trying to discover more of the background of this kingdom, I was first interested -- as the material concerning the Liao is so scanty -- in the itineraries of the Sung envoys sent each year to the Liao court. As a result of my work on the routes travelled by these envoys across the Great Wall, I eventually came to a special study of the Khitan people.

The Liao dynasty was founded by the Khitan tribe who inhabited the upper reaches of the Liao River in central Jehol. Throughout the T'ang dynasty (608-907) they constantly created disturbances along China's northern frontiers. In 907 Apaoki, a Khitan chief, after putting an end to the Khitan ruling house and subjugating the surrounding tribes, unified the regions north of the Great Wall and proclaimed himself emperor. In 937 his

successor annexed the long strip of Chinese territory on the southern side of the Wall -- including Peking to the east and Ta-t'ung to the west.

Despite the annexation of these Chinese lands with their predominantly Chinese population, the Liao rulers continued to pursue their nomadic way of life. They introduced the Chinese governmental system for the administration of the Chinese portion of their domains, while keeping the tribal organization for their native land. The dual administrative system, which thus came into existence, throws light on the development of the three subsequent non-Chinese dynasties -- the Jurchen-Chin (1115-1234), Mongol-Yuan (1206-1368) and Manchu-Ch'ing (1644-1911), as well as of the T'o-pa Wei which had existed several centuries earlier (386-534).

The Khitan chose Peking as one of the five capitals through which they controlled their sedentary Chinese and Pohai (the settled people of Manchuria) subjects. This was the first chapter in the history of Peking as a national capital -- a position which had until then been held pre-eminently by Ch'ang-an (Sian). It was an event of supreme importance for the following millenium

of Chinese history.

My work consists of a series of six essays, each of which, though complete in itself, is related to all the others. The first two parts are a study of the ways of life and institutions which prevailed under the Liao dynasty, and, to a lesser extent, under the Chin, Yuan and Ch'ing which succeeded it. Together they form the basis for the third part, the section on Peking, in which I have tried to show the place these dynasties occupy in the perspective of Chinese history. The last three parts deal, in greater detail, with some of the problems brought out in the first three parts.

The first part, on na-po, is a resume of my article the Liao-tai ssŭ-shih na-po k'ao which was first published, in 1941, in the Bulletin of the Institute of History and Philology of the Academia Sinica. My views have not since changed.

Many important contributions in this field of study have been made in recent years by Chinese, Japanese and European scholars. Foremost among the European works are Dr. Owen Lattimore's Inner Asian Frontiers of China and Dr. Karl A. Wittfogel and Mr. Fêng Chia-shêng's joint

work History of Chinese Society, Liao. In general I agree with Dr. Lattimore's conclusion, but differ from him in my approach. He has based his work mainly on his experiences during extensive travels beyond the Great Wall, while mine is the result of research into literary sources.

The exhaustive and monumental accumulation of material of Dr. Wittfogel and Mr. Fêng has proved an invaluable source of information, though I have on many issues been unable to agree with their conclusions, particularly in regard to the subjects dealt with in the following pages.

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I. NA-PO

A Study of the Life of the Liao Emperors and its influence on the Liao institutions.

I. A General Survey

II. Detailed studies of the na-po

(a) the "Spring Water"

(b) the "Autumn Mountains"

(c) the Summer na-po and the Winter na-po

III. Na-po in the life of the Emperors of the Chin, Yuan and Ch'ing

IV. Na-po and the Liao Politics.

I.

A General Survey.

Na-po 捺鉢 represents in Chinese transcription a Khitan word used originally to denote the actual camp set up by the Liao emperors during their hunting. Later, in the Chin and Yuan dynasties, it was used to denote the places where the Chin and Yuan emperors stayed on their way to hunt or to some other destination. As the Liao emperors, during their whole life time, spent every season of every year in the na-po, the na-po was their home, or palace, the centre of their activities and the Headquarters of Liao politics. In the official history of the Liao dynasty, the Liao-Shih, compiled in 1344,

towards the end of the Yuan dynasty, there is a special section devoted to the description of the na-po. The authors, although Chinese, lived under a non-Chinese ruling house and were thus able to appreciate the influence of nature in producing different modes of living in the regions to the north and the south of the Great Wall. In the introduction to this section, they remarked:

"To the south of the Great Wall, the climate is wet and hot. The inhabitants live by tilling and sowing, depending for their clothing on mulberry and flax. They live in houses and are subject to the government of walled cities. In the Desert, it is, however, cold and stormy. There, people live by stock-breeding, hunting and fishing and make their clothes from animal-skins. They shift their abode according to the change of seasons, and horse-carts serve them as homes. Such are the effects of natural environment in the South and the North.

The Liao [emperors whose] empire embraced the whole Great Desert and the regions adjoining the Great Wall, ruled their empire with regard to this special environment. During autumn and winter, they avoided the cold and during the spring and summer, they

avoided the heat. They moved in search of water and grass, or went hunting or fishing. Such was their yearly routine. For each one of the four seasons, they had a special hsing-tsai 行在 which was called a na-po."⁽¹⁾

A contemporary Sung writer has also commented: "The Khitan call the place where their emperor resides na-po. The residences for the four seasons are all so-called. For example, [the spring residence is called] the spring na-po. It is a Khitan word meaning something like the hsing-tsai."⁽²⁾

Hsing-tsai is used by both writers as the Chinese equivalent of na-po. By the Chinese expression hsing-tsai ("travel-stops") is meant the place where an emperor stayed temporarily, in contrast to his permanent residence at the palace in the capital. A hsing-tsai may be a place in which the emperor stayed just a few moments, or a few days or months, or years -- in short, it applies to any place where the emperor stayed on his journey away

(1) Liao Shih, ch.32, 1a.

(2) P'ang Yüan-ying: Wên-ch'ang tsa-lu.

from his proper permanent dwelling⁽¹⁾. It is natural that the Yuan scholars who compiled the Liao History should have used this term to translate the Khitan na-po. Yet many of the misunderstandings about the history of the Liao time might have been avoided if the early students of Liao history had realised that hsing-tsai does not exactly correspond to na-po. The two words have quite different social backgrounds. The Liao emperors who ruled over the Khitan empire belonged to a race of nomads. Na-po is a Khitan word denoting the movable residence of an emperor who, being a nomad, had no fixed permanent residence, while hsing-tsai is a Chinese word denoting the temporary residence of an emperor who is not a nomad

(1) The place which bore the name hsing-tsai for the longest period is probably Hangchow, the capital of the Southern Sung dynasty. When the Sung were driven out of K'ai-fêng, they moved first to Nanking and then to Hangchow which remained their capital for some 130 years. The first emperor never gave up hope of recovering K'ai-fêng, the original capital of the Sung dynasty. He regarded Hangchow as his hsing-tsai -- his temporary stopping place -- and none of his successors ever abandoned the use of this name, for to do so would have been an admission of final defeat.

In the Travels of Marco Polo, Hangchow appears as Quinsay. Earlier commentators of Polo's work thought Quinsay represented the Chinese term Ching-shih i.e. capital city. This was rejected by Prof. A. C. Moule (JRAS, 1917). Kuwabara has suggested that it was probably from hsing-tsai that Quinsay was derived. (Jitsuso / Kuwabara: On P'u Shou-kêng).

but who from time to time ceases moving about and goes back to live in his permanent residence in the capital. For a nomad, na-po fulfills the functions both of a hsing-tsai and of a fixed residence in the capital.

The translation of na-po as hsing-tsai suggests that there was a capital in which the Liao emperors had their permanent dwelling, and in this connection the existence of the five Capitals in the Liao empire has also been a source of misunderstanding. These five Capitals were established to serve as the Headquarters for the government of the Chinese subjects of the empire, and the occasional visits which the Liao emperors paid to one or other of them were in no way comparable to the return of a Chinese emperor from his hsing-tsai to his permanent abode in the capital. The permanent abode of a Liao emperor was his na-po and when he went to one of the five Capitals he was in fact going to a temporary residence. Scholars, both Chinese and western, however, have imagined, quite wrongly, that these occasional visits to the five Capitals are evidence of the adoption of Chinese manners.

This transliteration was also used by the two dynasties succeeding Liao, the Chin and the Yüan. It was also

written in such various forms as 納拔 na-pa⁽¹⁾, 刺鉢 la-po⁽²⁾, 納鉢 na-po⁽³⁾ and 納寶 na-pao⁽⁴⁾.

In ancient Chinese, na-po is pronounced nât-pât. In the Mongol-Japanese Dictionary of Yanagawa Heisuke⁽⁵⁾, there is a word "nandi-bat" (Sanskrit "nandi-pada) with the meaning (1) a pleasance, place of recreation, (2) proper name of a palace⁽⁶⁾. The second meaning is certainly derived from one of the old na-po left behind

(1)

Ma K'uo: Mao-chai tzŭ-hsŭ (茅齋自敘). Quoted in Hsü Mêng-hsin's San-ch'ao pei-mêng hui-pien ch.15. Ma K'uo was the Sung envoy who negotiated peace terms with Akuta, the founder of the Chin dynasty, in his na-po in the vicinity of Peking which he had recently taken over from the Khitan.

(2) Yŭ-wên Mao-chao: Ta-chin kuo-chih, ch.11, 6b, (A History of the Great Chin Kingdom).

(3) In the edict of the emperor Shun-ti of Yuan, prefaced to the Po-na edition of the Chih Shih.

(4) Yang Yŭn-fu: Luan-ching tsa-yŭng.

(5) Japanese War Office: Mokogo Daijitan (Mongol-Japanese Dictionary.)

(6) I owe this information to Dr. Arthur Waley. In his letter to me (Feb.18, 1949), he adds: "The usual meaning of nandi-pada in Sanskrit, however, as Dr. Masters tells me, is foot print of Nandi, the name of a pattern sometimes stamped on coins."

by one of the Khitan, or Mongol (or possibly of Jurchen) rulers⁽¹⁾.

Despite the importance of the role played by the na-po in the life of the Liao emperors, the sentences quoted at the beginning of this article are the first half of the only passage in the official Liao History in which the term na-po is found. For the contemporaries, na-po was a commonplace and the sources for the Liao History probably considered it unnecessary to give any further accounts of it. As time went on, however, and the mode of living which this institution represented became less and less familiar to people of later generations, the

(1) In the Ch'in-ting san-shih kuo-yü chieh, compiled under the auspices of the emperor Ch'ien-lung in 1781, devoted to the reconstruction of the indigenous terms found in the Liao, Chin and Yuan Histories, na-po is explained as the equivalent of "pa-na" of the Manchu, which means a place. Ch'ien-lung held that the term had been wrongly transliterated and the order of the syllables had been transposed, and, taking this as an example, he criticised the ignorance of the Chinese people of the non-Chinese languages. He himself was wrong in this case.

Shiratori Kurakichi held that Na-po is a transliteration of "nutuk-ba", formed by combining the Mongol "nutuk", meaning a camp or dwelling place and the Manchu "pa", meaning a place. Although the meaning of "nutuk" is rather similar to that of na-po, yet phonologically this derivation is impossible. (Tōko Minzoku-kō, Shigaku Zasshi, Vol.24, pp.19-20).

meaning of the term became increasingly obscure. It had become a puzzle -- because the Chinese characters conveyed no meaning whatever. The lack of explicit information about the na-po and the misleading translation of the word, combined with the occurrence of a number of superficial indications of the sinicization of the Liao empire -- in particular, the existence of the five Capitals -- have led to a misconception of the real nature of the Liao dynasty. This may be seen in the wrong interpretations of the Khitan culture by a number of modern authorities, both European and Chinese, quoted below.

Howorth, commenting on the history of the Liao, says: "The contact of the Khitans and the Chinese was followed, as seems to be universally the case there, by the gradual weaning of the race of soldiers from their old habits and the acquirement of the effeminate manners which prevail in Eastern courts."⁽¹⁾

Yule says: "The Khitan empire subsisted for two centuries..... The same curious process took place which seems always to have followed the intrusion of Tartar

(1) Howorth, H. H.: History of Mongols, I, p.2.

conquerors into China. The intruders themselves adopted Chinese manners, ceremonies, literature, and civilization and gradually lost their energy and war-like character."⁽¹⁾

Pelliot says: "It happened to the Khitan as to all the nomads who settled down in China, as victors, that, by the irony of fate, they were soon conquered by the Chinese Civilization. At the end of a few generations, the Khitan had become civilized and sinicized."⁽²⁾

Professor Ch'ien Mu says: "The Khitan founded the five Capitals. They had also prefectures and counties. In short, the nature of the Khitan Kingdom was different from that of the Hsiung-nu in the Former Han dynasty, or that of the Turks during the T'ang. It was virtually an off-shoot of the Chinese Middle Kingdom."⁽³⁾

All these scholars thought that the Khitans were sinicized like other Tartar conquerors. It is true that such non-Chinese dynasties as the Chin and Ch'ing were "conquered by the Chinese civilization." The case of

(1) Yule, H.: Cathay and the Way Thither, Preliminary Essay, p.117.

(2) Pelliot, P.: La Haute Asie, pp.21-22.

(3) Ch'ien Mu: Kuo-shih Ta-kang, vol.1, p.364.

Liao, however, was different. The Khitan people never entered China proper. They lived on their homeland and continued to pursue their original way of life as nomads. Although, for ruling over their Chinese subjects, the Liao emperors adopted a number of Chinese manners, essentially they remained Khitan.

In their recent work, Dr. K. A. Wittfogel and Mr. Fêng Chia-shêng state that "controlling a partly pastoral, partly agricultural population, the Liao emperors had fixed capitals and city palaces in the classic Chinese manner. But the emperors, perpetuating the nomadic habit of their ancestors, spent much time in their seasonal camps, the na-po," and thus show greater insight into the Liao culture. But their statements that every year "shortly after his (the Liao emperor) return (from the spring hunting place) to the capital (italic mine) he set out again," and that "It is also possible that the later emperors spent more time in the capitals than did the first rulers of the state,"⁽¹⁾ indicate that they still consider the capitals to have been the more or less

(1) K. A. Wittfogel and Fêng Chia-shêng: History of Chinese Society, Liao, pp. 131-34 and 436.

regular residence of the Liao emperors and have failed to appreciate the true nature of the na-po.

In the text of the Liao History, one frequently comes across two expressions, the "spring river" ch'un-shui 春水 and "autumn mountain", ch'iu-shan 秋山 . Puzzled by the fact that they contain such geographical terms as "river" (or rather "water") and "mountain", one is tempted to think that they are geographical proper names, and modern students of Liao history have tried to identify their locations⁽¹⁾. They are, however, not real proper names. Originally they were used to denote the most important spring hunting lake where swans, or wild geese, were caught, and the most important autumn hunting places, the mountains where deer abound. During the Liao time, the most important spring hunting place was Yü-er Po, which was not far from Chang-ch'un Chou on the extreme north-eastern frontier of Liao (north of present Ch'ang

(1) Ikeuchi Horishii: The Spring River of the Liao Dynasty in Tōyō gakuho, vol.VI, no.2; Tsuda Sokichi: On the position of the Liao city Ta-lu-ku (Mansen chiri-rekishi Kenkyū hōkoku, No.2) and The Prefecture of Ch'ang-ch'un of the Liao Dynasty (Tōyō gakuho, vol.VII, No.1.)

Ch'un) and the most important autumn hunting grounds were the mountains to the west of Ch'ing Chou to the east of which was the Supreme Capital (near present Lin-hsi 林西 of Jehol). Ch'un-shui and Ch'iu-shan originally applied to Yü-er Po and the mountains to the west of Ch'ing Chou respectively, and usually had these meanings in the Liao History. Later, the meaning of both terms widened, and they were used to apply to any ponds where the principal spring hunting for swans or any places where the principal autumn hunting for deer were held. Finally, "spring water" and "autumn mountains" were used as alternative expressions for the spring and autumn huntings themselves. A Sung contemporary of the last Liao emperor, T'ien-tso, speaking of the trouble caused by the manufacture of a certain kind of wine wanted by T'ien-tso, which practice he considered as one of the reasons that led to the fall of the Liao dynasty, said: "The trouble that it brings about is next only to that caused by the "spring water" (ch'un-shui), and the "autumn mountains" (ch'iu shan).

In the section on daily costume in the chapter on "chariots and costumes" in the official Chin History, it is stated: "The costumes which they wear while following the Emperors to "spring water" are usually decorated

with designs of falcons catching swans against a background of flowers and grass. The costumes which they wear while escorting the emperors to "autumn mountain" are usually decorated with designs of bears, deer, forests and mountains. Both kinds of costumes are only long enough to reach the middle of the shin bone for the convenience of riding."⁽¹⁾

In the Chin and Yuan dynasties, both terms continued to be used. They occur frequently in the literature of those periods. In nearly all cases, they are used in the widest sense. In the past, scholars who considered them as proper geographical names found difficulty in explaining them satisfactorily. // The development of the meaning of "spring water" and "autumn mountains" proves the popularity of the spring and autumn huntings amongst the Liao emperors.

While spring and autumn were the seasons during which the Liao emperors were in motion, summer and winter were the seasons during which they remained settled. In the

(1) Chih Shih, ch.43, 9a.

summer they went to mountain regions which were their summer resorts and in the winter they chose warmer places for the cold days.

Surveying the yearly activities of the Liao emperors, the authors of the Liao History give an account of the na-po in the four seasons:

"The Spring na-po was called Duch River Lake. In the first decade of the first moon, the Emperor moved his tent, and arrived at [the Lake] about sixty days later. Before the coming of the swans, he erected his tent on ice. He made holes in the ice in order to catch fish. When the ice had melted, he released falcons to catch swans and wild geese. He went out in the morning and came back in the evening, occupying himself with fishing and hunting. Thus, catching birds and hooking fish [he stayed here] until the end of spring when he returned.

"For the Summer na-po there was no fixed place. Usually it was in Tu-er Mountain.... In the second decade of the fourth moon, the Emperor moved his tent, and chose an auspicious place for a summer resort. In the last decade of the fifth moon, or the first decade of the sixth moon, he arrived there. He stayed

for five decades and discussed state affairs with officials from the Northern and the Southern (Regions). In days of leisure, he hunted. In the middle of the seventh moon he departed.

"The Autumn na-po was called Vanquishing Tiger Forest. In the middle of the seventh moon, the imperial tent was moved from the summer resort to the mountain regions in order to hunt deer. Every year when the Emperor came, all those in attendance, from members of the royal house down, scattered alongside the ponds waiting until nearly midnight when deer came up and drank the salty water. Hunters were ordered to blow horns imitating the sound of deer. When deer gathered, they were shot. This was called "salt-licking deer" or "calling deer"⁽¹⁾.

"The Winter na-po was called Kuang-p'ing Tien Here it was flat and was surrounded in distance by sandbanks..... There was plenty of sand. It is rather warm in the winter, and the emperor usually spent his

(1) Here the authors of the Liao History mistakenly mixed up "salt-licking deer" and "calling deer" which were two quite different means for hunting deer. See p. 41 ff.

winter days here. He held political councils with high officials from the Northern and the Southern [Regions]. Sometimes he went out hunting or took part in military exercises. [In this na-po] the Emperor received presents and tribute from the Sung and other nations."⁽¹⁾

In the Liao History there is a chronological table⁽²⁾ devoted to the recording of events connected with the activities of the Liao emperors. It includes accounts of their sports, hunting and travelling. If it had been well done, it would serve as a most useful key to the activities of the Liao emperors throughout the year. Unfortunately, it was not carefully prepared. Even the data contained in other parts of the Liao History itself -- the Annals, for instance -- have not all been included. I have tried to incorporate such data, as well as that obtained elsewhere -- in particular from the works of

(1) Liao Shih, ch.32, 1b-3b. This is the second half of the passage quoted at the beginning of this section.

(2) Liao Shih, ch.68.

contemporary Sung writers⁽¹⁾ in a revised edition of the Table. We have now a more or less complete picture of the activities of the Liao emperors and are able to tell to a certain extent the exact places where the Liao emperors stayed in each month.

(1) After the peace treaty between Sung and Liao in 1004, the sovereigns of both states each agreed to send envoys to the court of the other twice every year, once to celebrate the other's birthday and the other time to greet the New Year's Day. The Liao emperors received the Sung envoys in their various na-po. After returning from the Liao Court, the Sung envoys always submitted to their emperors memorials, which were called at that time yü-lu 語錄, in which they related what they had seen on the journey and what they had done in the Khitan court. For the most part the Sung envoys were members of the Han-lin Academy, or their equals. Most of them achieved high positions either in the political sphere or in scholarship. Apart from the yü-lu which they had to present officially to the emperors, they always wrote poems as well as brief notes to describe the happenings which interested them on their journey to Liao. Some of the yü-lu and many of the works of the envoys in which these poems and notes are included are preserved to the present day. These are invaluable material for supplying the missing knowledge necessary for the solution of some of the problems concerning Liao geography. The Sung embassy consisted of a number of persons, headed by an ambassador and a vice-ambassador, one of them selected from the civil service, the other a military officer. Usually the civil servant acted as the ambassador. In the above, by envoys we mean the civil ambassadors. (See Fu, Lo-huan: Sung-jên Shih-liao Hsing-ch'êng K'ao, in Kuo-hsüeh Chi-k'an, vol.V, No.4).

Relying on the revised edition of the Travel Table⁽¹⁾ we can safely conclude that the picture drawn by the authors of the Liao History on the Liao emperors' life is justified. It is a skeleton picture of their yearly activities. If they had some special activities, it means that the period they spent in one particular na-po would be shortened. Although the above-mentioned camps for the four seasons were not necessarily the only places where the na-po were pitched, they were certainly the most important. For fuller discussions of the geographical aspects of the na-po see next section.

For political or other reasons, the routine could be changed. But what was changed was only the geographical position of the na-po, the place where the new na-po was found would be of the same nature as the old one -- that is to say, it would still be suitable for the special programme of the season concerned. As this practice was carried out year after year, all the contemporaries knew about it. It is not surprising, therefore, that quite different sources give nearly identical accounts of the

(1) Fu Lo-huan: Liao-shih yu-hsing-piao chêng-pu (Bulletin of the Institute of History and Philology of the Academia Sinica, vol.X, no.2.)

life of the Liao emperors.

"Every year, in the first decade of the first moon, the Khitan (emperor) went out hunting for sixty days. Then he went to Ta-lu River and caught fish by cutting holes in the ice and throwing hooks. After the ice had melted, he released falcons to catch swans and wild geese. In the summer he resided in Carbon Mountain, or went up into the Cool Pass to avoid the heat. In the first decade of the seventh moon, he went into mountains to hunt deer. At midnight hunters were ordered to blow horns imitating the sound of deer. When the deer gathered, he shot them."⁽¹⁾

"When the Khitan emperors were ruling there was a long period of peace and they had few affairs to deal with. Every spring they released (should read "caught") swans, in the spring water, and caught fish by hooks in Hung-t'ung River. In summer, they held summer resort in Yüing-An Mountain. In autumn they hunted deer in the "autumn mountains" -- Black Mountain --

(1) There ought to be a passage about his winter hunting activities which is missing in this text.

in Ch'ing Chou. In winter, they hunted tigers in Hsien Chou. Having no fixed dwelling during the four seasons, they indulged in travelling and hunting."

The former passage forms part of the section on the Khitan in the Sung National History⁽¹⁾, and the latter is quoted from the History of the Great Chin Kingdom. There are slight discrepancies between these passages and that quoted above from the History -- as a result of the difference of the experience of the reporters, or of misinformation or mis-recording. A description of the individual activities in each season will be given in the next section.

Judging from the point of view of people of a sedentary society, the Chinese contemporaries of Liao always speak of this state of affairs in a tone of condemnation. This attitude was, of course, wrong. Nor is it right to describe these activities as "travellings". They form

(1) Kuo-shih ch'i-tan Chuan, quoted in Li T'ao's Annals of the Northern Sung, the Hsü Tzu-chih t'ung-chien ch'ang-pien, ch.110. This section of the Sung National History was one of the most important sources on the Khitan on which Yeh Lung-li's History of the Khitan Kingdom, the Ch'i-tan-kuo-chih, was based. Rudolf Stein has given an abridged version in French of Yeh's work (T'oung Pao, vol.35).

the daily life itself of the Liao emperors. Chang Shun-min, a Sung envoy who visited Liao twice, in 1094 and 1101, has properly appreciated the real significance of this practice. He says: "The Northerners (the Khitans) hunt [various types of game] in different places in the several seasons, just as the Southerners (the Chinese) sow [different crops] in the different seasons of the year."⁽¹⁾

The authors of the Liao History, in their introduction to the Travel-Table, have also rightly stated:

"As agriculture is esteemed by the Chinese, so stock-breeding and hunting are the livelihood of the people of the Great Desert. For all their means of subsistence are derived from them."⁽²⁾

(1) Chang Shun-min: Shih Liao Lu.

(2) Liao Shih, ch.68, 1a.

II

Detailed studies of the na-po

(a) The "Spring Water".

In the foregoing section, we have tried to review the Liao emperors' yearly activity as a whole. Now let us study in detail their activities in each of the four seasons.

In the spring there were two chief occupations -- to catch fish by cutting into the ice and throwing hooks and to catch swans with falcons. The fish season was the first moon, and the swan season was the end of the second moon, or the beginning of the third. As the fishing season came earlier, it happened that the accounts of fishing in the Liao History always come first to the reader's notice. Because of this and for various other reasons, students of the Liao History have held that fishing was the primary activity of the spring hunting. In fact the most important aim of spring hunting was swans. It was so not only in the Liao time, but also in the Chin and the Yuan dynasties.

The hunt of swans was always held at a lake. Towards the end of spring, swans and wild geese appeared. In

hunting them the hai-tung-ch'ing (the "blue bird from the east of the sea") a special kind of falcon caught in the area of the estuary of Sungari, were essential.

A vivid description of catching the swans in the spring na-po at Duck River Lake⁽¹⁾ is given in the Liao History.

"Every time when the Emperor arrives at the lake, his attendants, all dressed in dark green, and each equipped with a hammer, a bowl of falcon-food and a dagger for killing swans, stand round the lake, five to seven paces apart. The Emperor, wearing a "wrapper" on his head and clothes suited to the season, with a jade girdle round his waist, stands watching on the sheltered side of the lake. Wherever swans are found, flags are raised and then look-outs ride quickly to inform the others. Drums are beaten around the pond and the swans are startled into flight. The horsemen to the right and left all wave their flags at them.

"Raising the falcons (hai-tung-ch'ing) perched on their arms the falconers, wu-fang, bow to the Emperor and hand them to him. The Emperor lets them go up into the air. After catching the swans, the falcons fall

(1) See p.29.

exhausted. The attendants who stand nearest kill the swans with their dagger and feed the falcons with the swan's brains. The men who rescue the falcons will be rewarded with silk and silver.

"When the Emperor obtains the First Swan, he offers it to the ancestral temple. Officials each also offer wine and viands. Music is played. Those who have taken part congratulate each other. Everyone makes merry by fixing a feather to his head. The Emperor gives wine to all his followers, and distributes all the feathers of the swan among them."⁽¹⁾

This account is particularly interesting because it is corroborated by Marco Polo's description of Khubilai's spring hunting. After having spent his winter in Cambaluc (Peking), Khubilai started off on the first of March toward the Ocean Sea to hold his spring hunting. He took with him "10,000 falconers, and some 500 gerfalcons, besides pergrines, saker, and other hawks in great number; and goshawks to fly at the water-fowl."

(1) Liao Shih, ch.32, 1b-2a.

"And let me tell you," Polo continues, "when he (Khubilai) goes thus a-fowling with his gerfalcons and other hawks, he is attended by full 10,000 men who are disposed in couples, and these are called toscaol⁽¹⁾, which is as much as to say "Watchers". And the name describes their business. They are posted from spot to spot, always in couples, and thus they cover a great deal of ground. Every man of them is provided with a whistle and a hook so as to be able to call in a hawk and hold it in hand. And the Emperor makes a cast, there is no need that he follow it up, for those men I speak of keep so good a look out that they never lose sight of the birds, and if these have need of help they are ready to render it."⁽²⁾

One can see that although the ways of swan hunting had undergone some changes during the period between Liao and Yuan, in broad outline they were the same.

By the First Swan is presumably meant the first caught. In the Song of Khitan by a Sung poet Chiang Kuei⁽³⁾, it is stated, "One who first caught the Swan

(1) According to Yule, toscaol is Turki, meaning "Gardien, surveillant de la route; Wächter, Wache, Wegehüter."

(2) Yule, H.: Travels of Marco Polo, Vol.1, p.402-03.

(3) Chiang Kuei: Po-shih Tao-jên Shih-chi.

was rewarded with a hundred taels of gold." This may perhaps serve to prove the above point. It has also been interpreted as meaning the largest or the best swan.⁽¹⁾

During the Liao, Chin and Yuan periods, swan were considered the most precious dish, and it was a common practice during these dynasties that the First Swan should be offered to the ancestral temple.

In the "Guide to the Imperial Diet"⁽²⁾ devoted to the description of the Yuan emperors' diet, swans were listed first among the category of birds. This book is illustrated and we are able to reproduce the picture of the swans here. (Fig.1).

(1) Wittfogel, op. cit., p.132.

(2) Hu Ssu-hui: Yin-shan Chêng-yao (~~1330~~) ch.3.

天鵝味甘性熱無毒主補中益氣鵝有三四等金頭
 鵝為上小金頭鵝為次有花鵝者有一等鵝不能
 鳴者飛則翎響其肉微腥皆不及金頭鵝

速見乞刺
 不能鳴鵝



阿刺潭
 花鵝也



Names of swans are given in the text both in Mongol and in Chinese: (1) top right: "big golden-headed swan"; (2) bottom right: "small golden-headed swan"; (3) top left: "the swan that has no cry" and (4) bottom left: "spotted swan."

The explanation reads: "[The flesh of] the swan has a sweet flavour. It is hot (stimulating) and has no bad effects. It is good for the bowels and the nervous system. There are 3 or 4 grades of swans. The best kind is the [big] golden-headed; next the small golden-headed. [Then come] the spotted swans [and finally] another class which makes no cry^{and} which beats its wings noisily in flight. Its flesh has a slightly fishy flavour. None of [these last three] comes up to the [big] golden headed swan.

In 965, Forester Sha-la-tieh received the punishment of the "hot pillar" and the "iron comb", because he had mistakenly foretold the date of the appearance of the swan⁽¹⁾. In 1080 a minister who caught the First Swan was awarded the highest honorable title⁽²⁾. Both events, as well as the practices of offering the First Swan to the ancestral temple and awarding silver to the man who caught it, show how highly the swans were esteemed.

To hunt swan, falcons (hai-tung-ch'ing) are essential. In the Liao time, there was a special office in charge of the rearing of falcons. In Mongol history there are many references to similar offices -- which were then much more numerous.

Falcons, however, were not found within the boundaries of Liao mainland. The most important supply came from the tribes outside Khitan's north-eastern frontier -- especially from the Wu-kuo tribes where the best falcons abounded.

Every year a falcon-hunting expedition was dispatched by the Liao court to Wu-kuo. The officers of this expedition

(1) Liao Shih, ch.7, 2a.

(2) Liao Shih, ch.24, 1a.

had to cross the region of Jurchen, the tribes which were more or less subject to Liao and whose land stretched between Liao and Wu-kuo. One can imagine the troubles caused by the expedition from a ruling state through the territory of one of its vassals.⁽¹⁾ Moreover, the people of Wu-kuo sometimes refused to give the facilities necessary for the catching of the falcons. Troops had also to be recruited from Jurchen to ensure the success of the expeditions.⁽²⁾ Both matters aggrieved the Jurchen considerably. Eventually the hunting of falcons was one of the two chief reasons for the revolt of the Jurchen against the Liao.⁽³⁾

(1) Chih Shih, ch.2, 3a.

(2) Hsü Mêng-hsin, op.cit., ch.3.

(3) Yang Pin, 楊賓 who visited Ning-ku-t'a, east of Kirin, (the land where the Wu-kuo tribes lived) in early Ch'ing dynasty gives an account of the ways by which the hai-tung-ch'ing were caught. He says: "Eagles abound east of the Liao River especially in Ning-ku-t'a where there are eighteen men whose job is to hunt eagles. Every year they start hunting during the tenth moon, concentrating their attention upon the hai-tung-ch'ing which is considered the most valuable of all the eagles. Those of pure white are the best, those which are mainly white but specked with other colours come next, and after them those which are grey. If the hunters meet with success, they stop work at the end of the eleventh moon. Otherwise they go on hunting. If, however, by the twentieth of the twelfth moon they are still unsuccessful, they do not continue

According to the special section on the na-po quoted above the most important lake on which swans were caught was Duck River Lake. This Lake appears, however, in the text of the Liao History under another name, Yü-er Po

魚兒澤 (Fish Lake). Tsao T'ing-chieh, a Ch'ing scholar, identifies Yü-er Po with the Moon Lake, Yüeh-liang Po,

月亮澤 which is about 150 miles to the north-west of Kirin, the capital of Kirin Province.⁽¹⁾

In 1845 M. de la Brunier, the French missionary, travelled across the regions along the Amur and Usuri -- not far from the place where the Liao emperors' chief spring hunting lake was situated. He remarked that in this area "the swan, the stork, the goose, the duck, the teal appear each year in the month of May in numberless flocks, attracted by the prey which is easily had and in abundance; and the birds are the more daring, as no one

Continuation of the note on last page:

further.

"The eagles are found in the thick woods in the valleys always confined to certain places. Those who are skilled at hunting use something to mark these places. They go there every year and never fail to find them. But it is not easy to catch them. They watch where the eagles come out and go in and there they tie a long piece of rope and lay a wide net. Then they lie in wait for them day and night in the long grass. They cannot move, because any movement would scare away the birds." (Liu-pien chi-liao)

(1) Tsao T'ing-chieh: Tung-san-shêng yü-ti t'u shuo.

disturbs their repose. The natives do not seem to value wild fowl."⁽¹⁾ He did not know, however, there had been a time when swans were highly esteemed.

Apart from Yü-er Po there were many spring hunting lakes of secondary importance. Two of them on the southern frontier are worthy of special mention. One is Yen-fang Tien Lake 延芳淀 near Peking, and the other Yüan-yang Po Lake, 鴛鴦泊 south of Dolonnor, the important Mongolian town.

For political or military reasons, the Liao emperors had sometimes to come and stay for a time in the southern part of their empire. They were compelled, for the moment, to abandon hunting in the usual places, but they did not stop hunting altogether. In the early years of the reign of Shêng-tsung (983-1030), a period during which Liao and Sung were at war, Shêng-tsung spent most of his time in various places on his southern frontier. He chose new places for swan-hunting, and found, among other places, Yen-fang Tien Lake and Yüan-yang Po Lake.

(1) Quoted from translation from French which forms the appendix D of the Long White Mountain, by H. E. M. James.

Yen-fang Tien Lake is about 90 li (30 miles) east of the Southern Capital of Liao (Peking). It remained one of the important spring hunting lakes throughout the Chin and Yüan periods. In the official Yüan History, one frequently comes across accounts of the Yüan emperors' hunting in either "Willow Forest" (Liu-lin) 柳林 or K'uo Prefecture (K'uo Chou 鄆州), or "the Willow Forest of K'uo Prefecture." All of these really mean the lake by the Willow Forest of K'uo Prefecture. The Yüan History states: "(In 1330) Soldiers were drawn from the Garrisons in the Capital for building the banks of the lake by the Willow Forest in K'uo Prefecture."⁽¹⁾

The K'uo Prefecture during the Yüan period was originally the K'uo-yin County (K'uo-yin hsien) of Liao; and the Liao K'uo-yin County grew out of a small town by the Yen-fang Tien Lake where the Liao emperors held their spring hunting⁽²⁾.

In Polo's Travels, one finds an imposing description of Khubilai's spring hunting at Cachar Modun. Earlier commentaries on the Travels disagreed on the identification

(1) Yüan Shih, ch.34, 8a.

(2) Liao Shih, ch.40, 3b.

of its geographical position.⁽¹⁾ According to Yule, Cachar Modun is probably Mongol; Katzar meaning "land", "region", and modun meaning "wood" or "tree".⁽²⁾ This is in perfect conformity with the "Willow Forest". There is no doubt that Cachar Modun is the Willow Forest in the Yüan History and the Yen-fang Tien Lake in the Liao time.

Yüan-yang Po Lake is the Angulinor to the north west of Kalgan, the capital of Chahar. It would seem that the Liao emperors, while staying on their southern frontier, at first preferred Yen-fang Tien Lake, but later they preferred Yüan-yang Po Lake. In the second half of the Liao, they toured this part of their empire once every five or six years, and then nearly always held their spring hunting here.

In 1872 W. S. Bushell visited this region of Inner Mongolia. He noticed that on the lakes he passed "the

(1) Marsden and Pauthier identify Cachar Modun with Tchakiri Moudou in the extreme east of Manchuria, between the Khing Lake and the Sea. It is more than 900 miles from Peking as the crow flies, and is therefore out of question. Palladius identifies it with Ho-si-wu between Peking and Tientsin. This has also been rejected by Cordier on account of the position of Ho-si-wu. (Travels of Polo, I, 408).

(2) The official Chin History (ch.21) records: "(In 1164) the Emperor (Chang-tsung) ordered willow trees to be planted for one hundred li along the roads outside each gate
cont. over.

water was black with waterfowl, which rose in dense flocks, and filled the air with discordant noises. Swans, geese and ducks predominated, and the three different species of cranes were distinguished."⁽¹⁾

Another important activity of the Liao emperors in the spring was fishing. The Liao History gives no account of the methods of fishing practised by the Khitan, though it was one of the most important features of their life. We have, however, two contemporary accounts which enable us to form a fairly good idea of the ways by which the fish were caught. One of these was given by Sung Shou 宋綬, the Sung ambassador to the Liao court in 1020.

According to Sung Shou, "The Khitan are fond of fishing by torchlight. They build a tent on the ice and carefully close up the opening. They then make a hole in the ice, and hold a torch to it. Attracted by the light, the fish

Continuation of note on previous page:

of the capital (Peking)." I suspect that here lies the origin from which the name Willow Forest is derived.

(1) W. S. Bushell: Notes of a Journey outside of the Great Wall of China, p.154.

gather at the illuminated spot. The Khitan drop their lines, and seldom fail to catch the fish."⁽¹⁾

Another was given by Ch'êng Ta-ch'ang 程大昌 a Southern Sung writer (middle of 12th century). Ch'êng Ta-ch'ang himself did not visit Liao. He must have based his account on earlier reporters.

"To fish the niu-yu, or cow fish, on the River Talu is one of the important festivals of the Khitan. But it is with big hooks, not the ordinary fish-hooks, that the fish are caught. The River Talu which flows eastwards to the sea, usually freezes in the first moon and the ice melts in the fourth moon. When the fishing is in progress, the Khitan emperor and his mother both erect their tents on the ice. Attendants have previously been ordered to

(1) This account is part of the memorial, the yü-lu (see p.17) presented to the Sung emperor by Sung Shou. The memorial was incorporated into the Section on the Khitan in the Sung National History, from which Li T'ao had drawn his information on the Khitan, included in his Hsü Tzŭ-chih t'ung-chien ch'ang-pien. The section on the Khitan in Ma Tuan-lin's Wên-hsien t'ung-k'ao is also derived from this section of the Sung National History. It is on Ma's work that Ed. Chavannes' translation of Sung Shou's itinerary is based. (Voyageurs Chinois chez les Khitan et les Noutchen.) Relying on a corrupt edition of the Wên-hsien t'ung-k'ao, Chavannes mistakenly gives Sung Shou's names as Sung Huan 宋緩.

lay nets across the stream at a distance of ten li both up- and down-stream in order to prevent the fish from escaping and have thus been able to concentrate them at the spot where the tents are pitched.

"In front of the camps four holes called 'ice-eyes' are cut. One in the middle is cut right through to the water level. The other three encircling it are not dug so deep, but only so as to make it sufficiently thin. The thinner holes are used to observe the movements of the fish while the open hole is for throwing the hooks. Although fish live primarily under the surface of the water, if they are shut in by a layer of ice for any length of time they will come, when they can, to the surface in order to breathe. Therefore, from the open hole one will certainly be able to catch the fish.

"When the fish come, the look-outs inform the Khitan emperor who throws, through the open hole, a hook which is attached to a rope. He never misses. Having hooked the fish the emperor loosens the rope and plays the fish. When it gets tired, then he pulls in the rope and hauls the fish out of the water. This is called the catching of the First Fish.

"After catching the First Fish he and his followers

leave the ice tent and go to another tent in which they play music and make merry."⁽¹⁾

Of the methods described by Ch'êng Ta-ch'ang and Sung Shou, apparently Ch'êng Ta-ch'ang's was the more popular, for the Liao History always specifically refers to fishing with hooks.

It is interesting to find that both methods are still practised by people today -- for instance, the Goldi, or Yü-p'i-ta-tze (literally "fish-skin Tartars", from their wearing dresses made of salmon skin), on the lower reaches of the Sungari. The Goldi are one of the few native tribes which have not yet been absorbed into the Chinese population. They lead a life more or less the same as that of their ancestors in the Liao time, and catch fish in almost exactly the same way as the Khitan.

In 1933 Dr. Owen Lattimore paid a visit to the Goldi. He heard from them that "In the winter they fish with lines through a hole in the ice and also they fish at night by holding torches over a hole in the ice and harpooning the fish that are attracted to the glare."⁽²⁾

(1) Ch'êng Ta-ch'ang: Yen-fan lu, ch.3.

(2) Owen Lattimore: The Goldi Tribe 'Fish Skin Tartars' of the Lower Sungari. A more detailed account of the fishing of the Goldi is given by Ling Ch'un-shêng 凌純聲 who

De la Bruniere reports that in Usuri and its small tributaries, there is a kind of fish called Iluam-yü

Continuation of note on previous page:

visited this area in 1930. He wrote Sung-hua-chiang hsia-yu-ti Hê-chê-tsu, the Goldi on the Lower Reaches of the Sungari, in which he describes: when the Sungari freezes to the thickness of four to five feet the fisherman makes a four feet square hole in the ice. He then builds a straw shed over it and no light is let in. Then he sits beside the hole looking up-stream. When the fish comes to the dark spot, it moves slowly, or even stops. The fisherman can easily catch it with his harpoon.

Again, Ling describes: The Sungari River freezes in the ninth moon. In the following moon, the Goldi set nets to catch fish. On the freezing of the river, as at its thaw, the fish gather in the shallows, where the current is less rapid. The fishermen now make two big holes in the ice above the shallow, 5 feet by 3 feet in size, and some 600 feet apart. These two holes form the ends of an ellipse, the shape being completed by 120 further holes, 3 feet by 2 feet, and about 10 feet apart, one from another. All these cuttings must be finished within the day, and for this purpose twelve fishermen are needed.

The nets are set next day. 12 or 15 fishermen, using very long ropes, attach the net to two poles, each 12 feet long. These poles are then inserted into the big hole farthest downstream. Using a third pole, which is crotched, the fishermen then push them under the ice to the first of the small holes, one pole to each side of the ellipse. At this stage, part of the long rope attaching the net and the pole is lifted above the ice, and held there. This process is repeated, until the two poles reach the other large hole, upstream, and at each small aperture a part of the rope is left above the ice. Nets are now set at the downstream hole, and as the net is gathered up from the upstream end all the fish within the ellipse of small holes can be caught. (p.86).

The former seems to be another version of the method of using variation of light to catch fish, whereas the latter, though dissimilar to the process described by Ch'êng Ta-ch'ang, offers a useful information of fishing underneath the ice.

unknown to Europe. He has seen some which weigh more than 1,000 lbs., and was assured that there were some of 1,800 to 2,000 lbs. Its flesh, "perfectly white and very tender, makes me prefer it to all other fresh-water fish."⁽¹⁾

De la Bruniere's Iluam yü seems to be the huang-yü described by H. E. M. James who visited Manchuria as far as San-hsing 三姓, at the confluence of the Sungari and the Hurka. According to James, the huang-yü, literally 'yellow fish', which abounds in the rivers of San-hsing, weighs 1,300 lbs. He identifies it with the sturgeon.⁽²⁾ Scholars have generally accepted that the sturgeon is the cow-fish of the Liao time.⁽³⁾

(1) The Long White Mountain, p.435.

(2) H. E. M. James: op.cit., p.333.

(3) In his additional notes to Polo's Travels, Vol.1, p.408. Cordier quotes from Palladius: "In the Corean history under the year 1267, it is recorded that in the 9th month envoys of the Khan (Khubilai) with a letter to the King arrived in Corea. Khubilai asked for the skin of Akirno munho, a fish resembling a cow. The envoy was informed that, as the Khan suffered from swollen feet (gout), it would be useful for him to wear boots made of the skin of this animal."

According to Yang Ping the niu-yü is called by the natives hsüing-yü. Only people from China proper staying in this area call it niu-yü -- so called because its head looks rather like that of the cow. Each one weighs several hundred catties, and even up to a thousand catties. It flourishes in the Hun-t'ung Chiang (Lower Sungari), Hei-lung Chiang and Hurka rivers, and is rather difficult to catch. Whenever a niu-yu is caught the natives gather to share it. Its flesh is very oily." (Yang Ping, op.cit., ch.3.)

The most important rivers in which the Liao emperors held their spring fishing and the annual First-Fish Festival was the Duck river (Ya-tze Ho 鴨子河), which was renamed in 1024 Hun-t'ung Chiang 混同江 -- though the old name was still in use later. It is the part of the Sungari where the latter is joined by the Non River, to the north-west of Ch'ang-ch'un. As this place was close to the regions inhabited by the Jurchen, there was a practice that when the Festival was held, all the Jurchen chieftains within a radius of one thousand li would come from beyond the border to pay homage to the Liao emperor. At the Festival of 1112, Aguta, who was destined to be the first emperor of the Jurchen-Chin dynasty, first showed his tendency towards independence from the Liao rule -- by refusing to dance at the repeated request of the Liao emperor. (1)

Commenting on the importance of the fishing of tamara to the life of the Yu-p'i-ta-tze (Goldi), de la Bruniere remarks: "Towards the end of September, at the approach of winter, another kind of fish called tamara appears in

(1) Liao Shih, ch.29, 6b. Cf. p. 263.

the Amur and Usuri. It comes from the sea in shoals of several thousand, and weighs from ten to fifteen pounds. Its shape, and especially the flavour of its flesh, gives me reason to suppose it a kind of small salmon. To the Yu-p'i-ta-tze the fishing of the tamara is of the same importance as the gathering in of the harvest is to our rural districts and cities; a deficiency in one or the other will bring a famine along with it."⁽¹⁾ This may throw some light on the origin of the Fish Festival among the Khitan.

(1) The Long White Mountain, p.436.

II.

Detailed studies of the na-po

(b) The "Autumn Mountains"

In autumn, the other great hunting season, the Liao emperor's chief activity was deer-hunting. The Liao History describes the hunting of deer by the method of the "salt-licking deer" or "calling deer." (See above, p.15) The "salt-licking deer" and "calling deer" were in fact two different methods used by the Khitan. The authors of the Liao History mistakenly took them as two parts of one single process.

To call deer, the hunters clad themselves in deer skin and blew a horn to make a sound like that of deer which were then attracted to the places where the hunters lay hidden and were ready for the kill. In the Liao court, there were professional deer-callers. In 968 the Liao emperor "bestowed on I-la-ke the deer-caller named P'u-ku."⁽¹⁾

It seems that deer-calling was an art especially cultivated by the Jurchen, and most of the Liao deer-callers came from them. As early as the middle of the

(1) Liao Shih, ch.7, 4b.

10th century, Hu Ch'iao⁽¹⁾ reported: "The Jurchen are good archers They make a sound resembling that of the deer to bring them to close range. Then they shoot them." A Sung writer remarked: "The Jurchen ... make horns out of birch bark, and blow them, making a sound similar to that of a deer. [When the deer come] they shoot them with arrows."⁽²⁾ The Liao History also records: "(In 991) the Jurchen chieftains sent deer-callers (as tribute)."

Until recently the Goldi still used such methods for deer hunting. Ling Ch'un-sheng says: "The Goldi used to hunt roe-deer with arrows made of bone. Owing to the introduction of firearms, arrows were recently replaced

(1) Hu Ch'iao 胡峤 was originally a Chinese official under a Khitan general who led one of the Khitan army units which overran north China. After this general returned to Khitan, he was accused by his wife of planning conspiracy, and was executed by the Khitan authorities. Hu Ch'iao was thus left helpless and destituted. He drifted here and there in various parts of Khitan for seven years. At last, in 953, he managed to return to China. He wrote the Hsien-pei chi describing his experiences in Khitan. This work has been incorporated by Ou-yang Hsiu into his New History of the Five Dynasties. A French translation has been given by Chavannes (Chavannes, op.cit, Journal Asiatique, pp.390-412)

(2) Hsü K'ang-tsung: Hsuan-ho i-ssü fêng-shih hsing-ch'êng-lu (cf. Chavannes, op.cit. Journal Asiatique, 1898, pp.361-438).

by guns. In former times the huntsmen clad themselves in deer skins and (used whistles) to make a lowing sound similar to that of the roe-deer. When the deer came and saw the skins, they tossed their heads, grunted and ran away quickly. Then the huntsmen shot them with their arrows."⁽¹⁾ Two kinds of whistles used by the Goldi for this purpose included in Ling's book are reproduced below: (Fig.2)

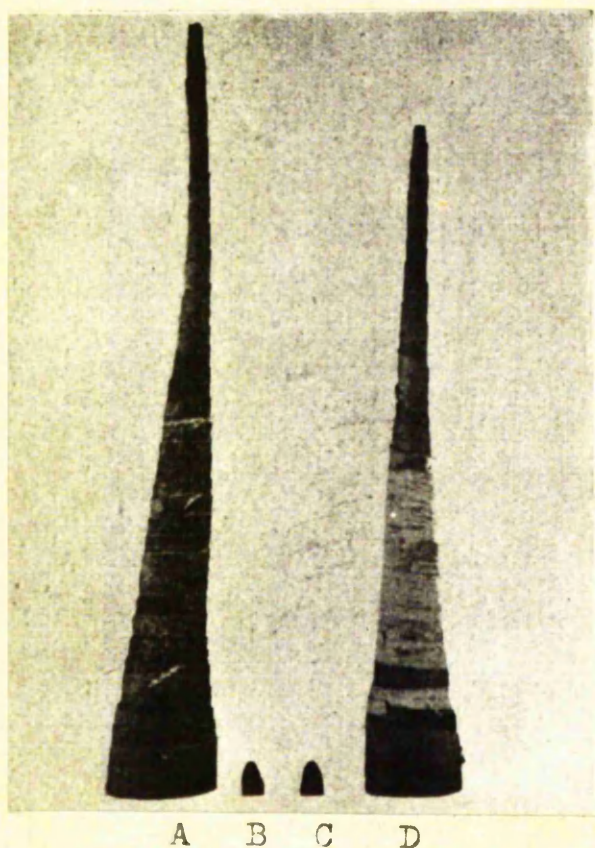


Fig. 2.

Here A and D are deer whistles. A is 61 cm. long, and the diameter of the opening at the bottom is 8.4 cm.; D is 46 cm. long, the diameter of the opening at the bottom is 7.2 cm. They are made by rolling up strips of birch bark. The diameter of the aperture at the top of each of these is 1 cm. Three nails are used to hold the end together. When one blows it, he must first dip it into water so that no leakage of air is possible and it is easier for him to make a sound. It gives a lowing note, like that of roe-buck. It is used to call the wild deer.

B and C are roe-deer whistles. Each of them is 2 cm. long. They are very easy to make. Take a piece of birch bark, then fold it in the middle. Cut with scissors into the shape of the tongue. Then fasten the lower end with a thread of flax or silk. Blow the hollow part in the middle. It will give a murmuring sound, similar to that made by fawns. It is used to attract roes.

(1) Ling Ch'un-shêng,
op.cit., p.88.

Ling Ch'un-shêng gives an account of Goldi's hunting of deer by setting traps and spreading salt. This may perhaps illustrate the salt licking method practised by the Khitan.

Ling says that on flat fields in the mountains, on the outskirts of a forest or at the foot of a mountain, the Goldi hunters first draw the spoor of deer, and then on the path along which the deer pass they dig a pit more than ten feet deep, eight feet long and five feet wide. The pit is covered with birch, over which is spread earth mixed with salt. The whole is covered over with straw or dry leaves. When it rains the salt dissolves in the earth. As deer are fond of salty substances, they lick the earth, get on to the top of the trap and fall head first into the pit.

If the trap is set in the seventh or eighth moon (August or September) of the year, it cannot be used that year. As the deer has a very acute sense of smell it is able to pick up the scent left by a man from hundreds of paces away, and even if it should come close to the trap it would still avoid it. Only after the trap has been washed by rain and blown by wind and there is no trace or scent of the hunters left will it be effective.

And so they have to wait until the following year.⁽¹⁾

(1)

Ling Ch'un-shêng, op.cit., p.87.

(c) The Summer Na-po and the Winter Na-po.

The summer and winter months were seasons during which the Liao emperors resided in the na-po. During these periods, from the fourth or the fifth moon to the seventh, they spent most of their time "indoors" in order to avoid the excessive heat, and, from the ninth or tenth moon to the twelfth to avoid the severe cold. Here they held their semi-annual Supreme Political Council with the high officials from the Northern and Southern Regions to decide the important affairs of state.⁽¹⁾ In a sense, therefore, the na-po was the actual capital of the Liao state.

In the summer the Liao emperor sometimes played chess and the "double-sixes", a chess-like Chinese game, or went out to a deep valley to "obstruct eagles". How the eagles were "obstructed" is not known, since the histories provide us no information on this subject.

In the winter they held tournaments and military exercises. Occasionally they went out to hunt tigers.

(1) See p. 14 & 16.

They received envoys and tributes from foreign countries -- including the ambassadors from the Sung, whose descriptions of their experiences on their journeys provide us with invaluable information concerning the Khitan.

The two most important sites of the summer na-po were Mount Yung-an 永安山⁽¹⁾ to the west of Ch'ing-chou on the north-western border of Jehol, and the Carbon Mountain, probably the mountain at the western end of the Black Dragon Mountain Range in south-eastern Chahar⁽²⁾. Mount Yung-an was by far the more important.⁽³⁾

(2) Yanai Watari: Mōkoshi kenkyū, p.823 ff.

(3) In 1023, during his sojourn in the summer na-po at Mount Yung-an, the sixth Liao emperor, Shêng-tsung, attracted by the beauty of the mountain scenery, ordered that he should be buried there after his death. Thus his tomb, which was called Ch'ing Ling, was afterwards built there. His two immediate successors, Hsing-tsung and Tao-tsung, followed his example, and each had his tomb erected on this mountain. The uncovering of these three imperial tombs in the twenties of this century facilitated the identification of some of the city ruins left behind by the Liao-Chinese and the Pohai people in this part of Inner Mongolia. The frescoes on the inner walls of the tombs and other cultural remains throw much light on the culture of the Liao dynasty. Moreover the epitaphs of the emperors and their wives discovered in these tombs offer excellent specimens of the Khitan script which had long been thought to have been lost -- though the deciphering of this script still remains a difficult task for experts, due to the disappearance of the Khitan language.

(1) Cf. Joseph Mullie, Les anciennes villes de l'empire des grands Leao au royaume mongol de Barin. (T'oung Pao, Vol.21, p. 190.)

The winter na-po was most frequently pitched in Kuang-p'ing Tien, or Ou-ssu Tien as it was called by the Khitan in their own language.⁽¹⁾ It was near the confluence of the rivers Sira-muren and Lo-ha in north-eastern Jehol.

(1) Although Kuang-p'ing Tien 廣平淀 is given as one of the major na-po by the Liao History (see above p. 15), this name appears only once in the text. Further investigation reveals that the place represented by this term was also known by a number of other names -- a fact the compilers of the History fail to make clear. The name most frequently used is Ou-ssu Tien 藕絲淀. The term Kuang-p'ing Tien (it should be pronounced as "Kuang P'ing-tien") is Chinese, meaning wide-meadow. Ou-ssu is apparently a non-Chinese term, the meaning of which is not clear. However, we are told that the Chinese equivalent of the ordo of the Hsing-tsung, the A-ssu Ordo, is T'ai-ho Palace 太和宮 (the Palace of Clemency) and that the meaning of the Khitan term A-ssu is wide or vast. (IS 31, 8a) As the sound of A-ssu is similar to that of Ou-ssu, while its meaning is identical with kuang, it seems safe to conclude that both A-ssu and Ou-ssu are different versions of the same Khitan word, and that Kuang-p'ing Tien was a Chinese translation of the Khitan place name Ou-ssu Tien. (In the expression Ou-ssu Tien, tien is Chinese. We have many Liao -- and also Chin and Yuan -- place names which are formed by combining a non-Chinese expression and a Chinese geographical term.)

In fact Ou-ssu Tien was not actually a proper name. If one thinks of the meaning of the term -- the "vast meadow" -- this can easily be understood. The nomads were not accustomed to naming all the places where they stayed. On the vast wilderness of the steppe where no cities or towns were to be found, it was hardly possible for them to name the places where they stayed. Thus the Khitan called the wide stretch of sandy plain near the confluence of modern Sira-muren and Lo-ha the "Vast Meadow", Ou-ssu Tien.

Dr. Wittfogel suggests that A-ssu has affinity with the Turkic jasy meaning "large, plain, extent." (p.546), which is in accordance with the above argument.

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We have talked much about the na-po. What was it really like? The Liao History gives the following picture of the winter na-po at Kuang-p'ing Tien.

"The imperial camp was [surrounded by] a stockade made of spears joined together with ropes. Beneath [the point of] each spear there was a black felt umbrella to protect the guards from the wind and snow. Outside the spears there was a ring of small felt tents. In each tent were five men, each of whom carried arms. This [circle of small tents] was the Forbidden Enclosure.

"On the south was the Hsing-fang Hall, about two li to the north of which was the Shou-ning Hall. Both were built with wooden pillars and bamboo rafters. The roofs were of felt. The pillars were painted. The walls were covered with brocade, embroidered in dark red at the top. Yellow cloth embroidered with a dragon design served as a carpet for the floor. The window curtains, all made of felt, were lined with yellow silk. The foundations were more than a foot high. The verandah on both wings was also covered with felt but there was no door.

"To the north of the Hsing-fang Hall was the Deer-skin Tent, and north of the Tent was the Universal Hall.

"To the north of the Shou-ning Hall was the Everlasting Tent. [These halls and tents] were protected by a stockade.

"Four thousand Khitan soldiers were employed to guard the imperial camp, with one thousand taking turn on duty each day. They inserted their spears [in the ground] outside the Forbidden Enclosure to form a [temporary] stockade. In the night they removed the spears and put them around the imperial sleeping tent.

"Beyond the anti-horse barrier, outposts were established in order to pass on the alarm-bell in the night."⁽¹⁾

This camp seems small and insignificant in comparison with the Sira Ordo of the Mongol rulers.⁽²⁾ But the owners of this camp ruled over northern China in addition to their vast territory beyond the Great Wall for over two hundred years.

The system of having four teams of soldiers serving in rotation as the guards of these nomad rulers seems to have been the forerunner of the keshik guards of Chinghis.

(1) Liao Shih, ch.32, 3b.

(2) For Ogotai's "golden tent", the Sira Ordo, see below, p. 59.

III.

Na-po in the life of the emperors of the Chin,
Yuan and Ch'ing dynasties.

Although the terms used varied, the institution of seasonal dwellings, the Liao "na-po", prevailed also in the Chin and Yuan dynasties. Throughout the following section we shall use this term to denote the institution in general. The expressions "spring water " (ch'un-shui) and "autumn mountain" (ch'iu-shan) continued to be used for the hunts. Instead of being used to denote the chief imperial seasonal dwellings, na-po (or rather "la-po" or "na-pao", as in its Chin and Yuan transliterated forms)⁽¹⁾ was now used merely to denote temporary imperial stopping-places. The seasonal dwellings were designated in the Chin by the Chinese character kung 宮 (palace), and in Yuan by the Mongol term ordo, which the Mongols had taken over from the Khitan.

While the Liao emperors lived "permanently" in the na-po, the Chin and Yuan rulers, except those of the early

(1) See p. 6.

period of both dynasties, lived in their na-po for only a few months in each year. But they still caught swans every spring (fishing seems to have ceased); in summer they went to summer resorts, in autumn they hunted deer, and in winter they remained in the warmer place -- the capital. The main difference between their style of na-po and that of the Liao was that they shortened the sojourn in the spring camp and spent the whole of the winter in the capital.

Even up to the Ch'ing dynasty, although the term na-po was no longer in use, its traces were still noticeable. K'ang-hsi (1662-1721) built the Summer Palace at Jehol as a base for "calling deer" and later Ch'ing rulers built palaces in the vicinity of Peking as summer resorts. Only in the light of the history of the institution of na-po can the significance of these actions be properly appreciated.

Now let us try to review the institution of na-po in these dynasties one by one.

(I) The Jurchen-Chin dynasty (1115-1234).

As far as na-po is concerned, the one hundred and twenty years of Chin rule may be divided into three periods:

(1) 1115-1149, the period during which Chin had their capital in Hui-ning 會寧 (modern A-ch'êng, south-east of Harbin). This period covered the reigns of the first three Chin emperors, Aguta (T'ai-tsu, 1115-23), Wu-ch'i-mai (T'ai-tsung, 1123-35) and Hsi-tsung (1135-49).

(2) 1153-1214, the period during which Chin had their capital in Peking. This period may be subdivided into a former and a latter period. The former covered the reigns of the 4th and the 5th Chin emperors, Hai-ning (1149-61) and Shih-tsung (1161-89); the latter covered the reign of the 6th and the 7th Chin emperors, Chang-tsung (1189-1208) and Wei-shao Wang (1208-1213).

(3) 1214-1234, the period during which Chin had their capital in K'ai-feng, Honan. This period covered the reigns of the last three Chin emperors.

In the first period, the early Chin emperors imitated the Liao rulers' practice and had their seasonal na-po in classical Khitan manner. In 1125 Hsü K'ang-tsung, the first Sung envoy to visit Jurchen, saw Aguta in Mao-li Na-po 冒離納鉢 (1). This is the earliest

(1) Hsü K'ang-tsung: op.cit.

occurrence of the term na-po in histories concerning the Chin dynasty. In speaking of the life of Hsi-tsung, the third Chin emperor, the History of the Ta Chin Kingdom records: (In 1143) the Sovereign [of the Chin] ordered his Department of Affairs of State (Shang-shu Shêng) that, "following the example of the Khitan, We are to travel and hunt in the four seasons -- to follow the practice of "spring-water" and "autumn-mountain" and of staying in the na-po in both winter and summer."⁽¹⁾

The great Sung scholar Chu Hsi 朱熹 said: "The Chin barbarians used to live in Hui-ning. During that period they moved about in the four seasons. In spring they hunted on the Ya-lu River 鴨綠江; in summer, they went to a mountain, where it was extremely cold, to avoid the heat; in the autumn they went to a certain mountain for some particular action unknown; and in the winter they went hunting tigers in a mountain."⁽²⁾

Although this account of the activities of the Chin rulers, if one may judge from the examples of the Liao

(1) Yü-wên Mao-chao, op.cit., ch.11.

(2) Chu-tzŭ yü-lui, Ch.133.

time, is not quite accurate, it gives more support to the assumption that the early Chin rulers led a life in the Khitan manner.

Yet unlike the Khitan who were "real" nomad, the Jurchen depended for their living half on agriculture and half on pastoral nomadism. Their life made it easier for them to accept the Chinese civilization. The na-po, an institution only suitable to nomadic, or at least semi-nomadic, peoples, became less and less practicable for the Chin rulers as they became more and more sinicized. On the other hand, perhaps one can infer the gradual sinicization of the Jurchen from the stages of their gradual giving up of their life in the na-po.

The fourth Chin emperor, Hai-ning, a man with a strong inclination for Chinese culture, who was eager to be the sole sovereign of the whole Chinese world, removed his capital from Hui-ning to Peking in 1153.

We have little information about the hunting activities of Hai-ning, except that it is stated that he was fond of hunting, and, as the land in the vicinity of Peking was cultivated during three of the four seasons, he was compelled to hunt only in winter. Whenever he hunted,

his hunting activities always lasted for at least one month. His wife and concubines as well as princes and entourage all followed him.⁽¹⁾

After Hai-ning came Shih-tsung. He built the Ching-ming Kung 景明宮, the palace in Chin-lien Ch'uan 金蓮川, beyond the Great Wall in Chahar, and spent part of the year in his capital at Peking and the other part in this Palace. This compromise of maintaining the na-po on the one hand and ruling as a Chinese on the other, became typical for the emperors throughout the Yuan dynasty, and also for some of the Ch'ing rulers. The emperor usually started his journey for the Ching-ming Kung in the fourth or the fifth moon and stayed there for some four or five months, and would not return to Peking before the eighth or the ninth moon. In this Palace he avoided the heat, and carried on the traditional art of calling deer. He spent the rest of the year in Peking. In the spring he hunted swans in one of the lakes near Peking.

In this period the Chinese designation kung (palace) was used instead of na-po, which now applied only to

(1) Yü-wên Mao-chao, op.cit., ch.36, 3a.

minor stops of the way to this Kung.

Shih-tsung died in 1189. His grandson Chang-tsung succeeded. He stopped the practice established by his grandfather of visiting the Ching-ming Kung outside the Great Wall. He spent his summer and early autumn months in the Wan-ning Kung 萬寧宮, a palace north of Peking, which was originally built by Shih-tsung in 1179 (known previously as T'ai-ning Kung, Shou-ning Kung and Shou-an Kung).

For this period, G. N. Kates' article on the date for the origins of the Forbidden City provides useful information. According to Kates, from 1190, the year following the death of Shih-tsung, "It (the Wan-ning Palace) became a customary palace of sojourn; and from then onwards with only a few exceptions, we find the court summering there constantly, during Chang-tsung's whole reign of twenty years, remaining often between four to five months at a time." And it was on the ruins of this Palace that Khubilai's residence, the predecessor of the Forbidden City, was built.⁽¹⁾

(1) G. N. Kates: A New Date for the Origins of the Forbidden City, pp.180-202.

The Jade-flower Island 瓊華島 at the southern end of the lake in the well known North-Sea Park in modern Peking was one of the chief features in the Wan-ning Palace. We are able, therefore, to infer the position of the Palace.

The eighth Chin ruler, Hsüan-tsung (1213-1223) moved, under the threat of Mongol invasion, from Peking to K'ai-fêng, where he and the last two Chin rulers held their court. No hunting activities of these rulers are recorded. The na-po life of the Chin Emperors ended with the removal of their capital from Peking.

II. The Mongol-Yuan period (1206-1368).

The na-po in the Mongol-Yuan dynasty may also be divided into two periods: (1) the period during which the Mongols remained in their homeland on the steppe, and (2) the period during which the Yuan emperors ruled in Ta-tu (Peking). The former period covered the reigns of the earlier Mongol sovereigns before Khubilai. The latter period covered the reigns of all the Yuan rulers from Khubilai onwards (1260-1368).

A good example of the na-po of the former period will be found in the account given by D'Ohsson, based on the Persian writer Alai-ed-din Atta-mulk Djouvieni, of the

life of Ogotai (1229-41), the son and successor of Chinggis (1206-27).

"While his army was invading Korea, ravaging the centre of China, devastating Russia, Poland and Hungary, and spreading terror in western Europe, Ogotai idly spent his time hunting and fishing as was his wont. During the spring he stayed in Karakorum for only one month, and spent the rest of the season in a palace situated in a place named Kertachagan, which was one day's journey from the city. It was built by Persian architects, who thought to rival in talent the Chinese builders who had built the palace at Karakorum. After leaving this country seat Ogotai passed a few days in the city which he had founded. Then he settled for the whole summer in a place named Ormektoua. He held his court there in a Chinese marquee made of white felt decorated in an interesting way with gold embroidery. The tent would hold one thousand persons and it was called Sira Ordeou. In autumn he lived for about forty days near Lake Keuche, four days' journey from Karakorum. And from Keuche he went to Ong-ki, where he spent the winter -- the great hunting

season." (1)

This account can be used to make up the omissions from the life of Ogotai in the official Yuan History. The Annals for the period of Ogotai in the Yuan History (2) record that Ogotai held his spring hunting in the Lake Chieh-chieh-ch'a-ha 揭揭察哈 (3) which, no doubt, is Djouveini's Cherchagan. The names of other places are not mentioned. In the Annals, however, for the period of Hsien-tsung (Mangu, 1251-59), who had followed T'ing-tsung (Kuyuk, 1246-50) the successor of Ogotai, there appear the names of his seasonal dwellings at Yueh-er-mieh-ch'ieh-t'u 月兒滅怯土 Hsi-la-ou-lu-to 昔剌兀魯朵 and Wang-chi 汪吉 (4) which correspond with Djouveini's Ormektoua, Sira Ordeou and Ong-ki respectively.

(1) D'Ohsson: Histoire des Mongols, Vol.II, p.84-85

(2) Yuan Shih, Ch.2.

(3) This place also appears in the Yuan History in such other forms as 迦堅察寒 Chia-chien-ch'a-han (YS 58,21b) and 怯窩義罕 Ch'ieh-ch'ien-ch'a-han (YS 3).

(4) Yuan Shih, Ch.3a.

Chang Tê-hui 張德輝^{德輝} who visited Khubilai's Headquarters near Karakorum in 1248, twelve years before Khubilai ascended the throne, describes the life of this Mongol Prince:

".... Setting out from the north-west of the valley outside of Karakorum, we travelled one station to the Horse Head Mountain. We went along the north side of this mountain, and then turned south-west and went past the Red Ear Mountain. From there we went north-east one station to the "Milestone". We went three stations in

(1) Prior to his ascension to the throne, Khubilai was entrusted by Mangu Khan with the administration of the region south of the Great Desert -- China. He realized the importance of winning over the co-operation of the Chinese and summoned a number of leading Chinese intellectuals to his court. Chang Tê-hui was one of those who were summoned. He wrote a brief account of his journey in Mongolia which was included in the complete works of Wang Yün 王恽, (Ch'iu-chien hsien-shêng ta-ch'üan chi, ch.100,) who lived a little later than Chang Tê-hui. A Russian translation of Chang Tê-hui's memoirs, with commentary, by Father Palladius was published in the Memoirs of the Siberian Section of the Imperial Russian Geographical Society. E. Schuyler gives an English version of this Russian translation in the Geographical Magazine (Jan. 1875). The quotation in the text that follows is abridged from Schuyler's version. I have checked it with the original and made a number of corrections.

a south-westerly direction to the River Tang-ku. To the west of the River there is a range of mountains. There are many pine trees on the northern side of the range. On the southern side of the mountain is the Prince's royal tent-palace. This is his summer residence.

"It was not until after the mid-autumn festival that the Prince set out again. We proceeded eastward along the post road, passed the Milestone and reached the Red Ear Mountain. From there we zigzagged north-east into the heart of the mountains. Thenceforward we went on by fits and starts, never going more than one station in a day and never stopping more than two nights at the same place. On the "double Ninth" the Prince went with his followers to the Grand Ordo [of the Grand Khan] to take part in the libation of white mare's milk -- the customary sacrifice at that time.

"During the middle decade of the tenth moon, we reached a place which was protected against the wind by mountains on its four sides except the south. There we spent the winter. Here there were trees in abundance. The water everywhere was completely frozen and we all hastened to provide ourselves with fuel and water before the cold

came on.

"On the last day of the year the Prince moved his camping ground elsewhere to receive the homage of his vassals in connection with the New Year celebrations. Three days later the Prince presented New Year Congratulation to the Grand Khan by going to his Grand Ordo to pay homage.

"On the last day of the first moon, we went back towards the south-west. We arrived at the Red Ear Mountain in the middle decade of the second moon. Then we went eastward until we reached Horse Head Mountain. For in the "spring water" in the vicinity of the mountain the Prince hunted [wild ducks with gerfalcons.]

"On the ninth day of the fourth moon, the Prince again went with his followers to the Grand Ordo to take part in the libation of white mare's milk.

"On this day we began our return journey along the post road to the south-west to the summer residence of the Prince.

"Generally, at the approach of summer, the Prince moves to the higher and cooler regions, and, in the winter, to places which are better protected against the wind and get more sunshine and where fuel and water are

easily obtainable. At other times during the year they travel about from one place to another. They may spend one day on the move, and the whole of the next day in one place -- stopping where they find water and grass to feed their herds and flocks."

Khubilai came to the throne, in 1260, in his newly-founded city K'ai-p'ing on the southern edge of the steppe, near modern Dolonnor. The same winter he visited Peking where he resided until next spring⁽¹⁾. Then he revisited K'ai-p'ing. From that year onwards it became a practice for him to reside in Peking in late autumn, the whole winter and early spring, and spend the late spring, the whole summer and early autumn in K'ai-p'ing. He gave K'ai-p'ing the name of Supreme Capital, Shangtu

(1) The Yuan History (ch.58, 2a) asserts that Khubilai moved his capital from K'ai-p'ing to Peking in 1267. This probably refers to the foundation of the new city wall of Peking. Earlier, as we have just pointed out, Khubilai had already resided in Peking and the governmental offices had also been functioning there.

(Marco Polo's Chandu)⁽¹⁾ and Peking, the Grand Capital, Ta-tu (Polo's Cambaluc)⁽²⁾. It was during this period that the Venetian travellers the Polos paid their visit to Cathay⁽³⁾.

Marco gives an account of Khubilai's yearly routine as follows:

"On arriving at his capital of Cambaluc, he stays in his palace three days and no more; during which time he has great court entertainments and rejoicings, and makes merry with his wives. He then quits his palace at Cambaluc, and proceeds to that city which he has built, as I told

(1) In 1798 Coleridge wrote:

In Xanadu (Shangtu) did Kubla Khan

A stately pleasure-dome decree:

Where Alph, the sacred river, ran

Through caverns measureless to man

Down to a sunless sea.

So twice five miles of fertile ground

With walls and towers were girdled round

And here were gardens bright with sinuous rills,

Where blossomed many an incense-bearing tree;

And here were forests ancient as the hills,

Enfolding sunny spots of greenery.

(2) In 1264 Khubilai first gave Peking the name of Chung-tu^{中都} the "Central Capital". In 1272 it was renamed Ta-tu. (YS, 58, 2a.)

(3) According to Pelliot and Prof. Moule, Marco Polo saw Khubilai in Peking in 1275.

you before, and which is called Chandu where he has that grand park and palace of cane, and where he keeps his gerfalcons in mew..... There he spends the summer to escape the heat, for the situation is a very cool one. After stopping there from the beginning of May to the 28th of August, he takes his departure (that is the time when they sprinkle the white mares' milk as I told you), and returns to his capital Cambaluc. There he stops as I have told you also, the month of September to keep his Birthday Feast, and also throughout October, November, December, January and February, in which last month he keeps the grand feast of the new year, which they call the White Feast, as you have heard already with all particulars. He then sets out on his march towards the Oceans Sea, hunting and hawking continues out from the beginning of March to the middle of May; and then comes back for three days only to the Capital, during which he makes merry with his wives and holds a great court and grand entertainments. In truth, 'tis something astonishing, the magnificence displayed by the Emperor in those three days; and then he starts off again as you know.

"Thus his whole year is distributed in the following

manner: six months at his chief palace in the royal city of Cambaluc, to wit, September, October, November, January, February;

"Then on the great hunting expedition towards the sea, March, April, May;

"Then off to the city of Chandu which he has built, and where the Cane Palace is, where he stays June, July, August;

"Then back again to his capital city of Cambaluc."⁽¹⁾

According to the official Yuan History, however, Khubilai usually left Peking at the end of the first moon, or early in the second, for the Willow Forest⁽²⁾ to hunt swans. He stayed in the Willow Forest for only a few days and then went back to Peking. In the latter half of the second, or during the third moon, he started for Shangtu where he stayed until the eighth, or the ninth, moon. If one tries to work out the equivalent dates according to the Gregorian calendar, it will be found

(1) Yule, ed.: Travels of Marco Polo, Vol.1, p.410-11.

(2) See p. 31.

that Khubilai actually (1) held his spring hunting at the end of February, or in March, (2) went to Shangtu each April or May and (3) resided in Peking for the rest of the year. The account given by Marco is not quite accurate, though it is not entirely wrong.

Khubilai's routine was followed by the other Yuan rulers throughout the dynasty. They slightly delayed the date of leaving Peking for Shangtu to the fourth moon (May), and came back a little earlier, in the eighth moon (September)⁽¹⁾. In this period, the term ordo was used

(1) After the last Yuan emperor Shun-ti, Toghon Temour, was driven from his throne in Peking, he fled via the Ku-pei Kou Pass 古北口 to his homeland in the steppe. He lamented the loss of both his capitals in the song:

"My vast and noble capital, my Daitu, my splendidly
adorned

And Thou my cool and delicious Summer-seat, my
Shangtu-Keibung.

Ye, also, Yellow Plain of Shangtu, Delight of my
godlike sires.

I suffered myself to drop into dreams -- and lo my
Empire was gone.

Ah Thou my Daitu, built of nine precious substances

Ah my Shangtu-Keibung, Union of all perfection

Ah my Fame. Ah my glory, as Khagan and Lord of the Earth.

When I used to awake betimes and look forth, how the
breezes blew loaded with fragrance.

And turn which way I would all was glorious perfection
of Beauty

.....

Alas for my illustrious name as the Sovereign of the world.

Alas for my Daitu, seat of Sanctity, Glorious work of
the Immortal Khubilai

All, all is rent from me." -- Sanang Setzen.

cont. over/

to denote the chief imperial seasonal tent-dwellings, and na-po was only used to apply to the stops on the journey.

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The Yuan dynasty ended in 1368. The typical Chinese Ming dynasty came to power. Two hundred and seventy-seven years later another non-Chinese dynasty, the Manchu-Ch'ing, was established, and we see another version of the na-po.

(III) The Manchu-Ch'ing Dynasty (1644-1911).

The Manchus were descendents of the Jurchen who founded the Chin dynasty. They still preserved those arts of calling deer in which their Chin ancestors had specialized. The emperor Ch'ien-lung composed two long rhymed essays on calling-deer. In the introduction to one of these, he remarks: "Formerly my grandfather was fond of calling-deer. When I was very young, I often followed him and learned much about it. But it was not until recently that I myself tried to do it." The "grandfather"

Continuation of note from previous page:

This is quoted from Yule's translation of Scott's amended German version of the Mongol. I have checked it with the Chinese version. There are a number of discrepancies.

Howorth has also given a translation which is much closer to the Chinese version. (Howorth, op.cit., I, 334).

referred to was the great emperor K'ang-hsi (1661-1722), the second and one of the ablest of the Ch'ing rulers to rule over China. K'ang-hsi made his first journey to Jehol in 1677, and after 1683 he went there once each year -- always in summer months. In 1703 he founded there the famous Summer Palace, completed in 1708. The main purposes of the founding of the Palace were as summer resort and for hunting deer in the autumn, or we may say to satisfy the non-Chinese elements in his blood. From the Chinese point of view, however, these activities seemed to be incompatible with the rank of an emperor. Therefore, in his note on the foundation of the Palace addressed to his Chinese subjects, the Emperor began by begging his people's pardon and wrote:

"Several times have I visited the banks of the Yangtze River, and I appreciate the beauty of the scenery of the South. Twice have I been to Ch'in and Lung (i.e. Shen-si and Kansu) wherefrom I have learned something more about history of the West. To the north I have crossed the Dragon Sand (the Great Desert), and to the east I have travelled across the Long White Mountain (Manchuria).

The grandeur of the mountains and rivers, and the honesty and simplicity of their people cannot be fully described.

-- Yet none of these places has attracted me.

"It is Jehol which pleases me most. As it is not far from the Holy Capital (Peking), it takes no more than two days to come and go. It is a broad stretch of wild country, and you can understand that the choice of such a place would not lead me to neglect affairs of state."⁽¹⁾

Obviously the prime aim was to satisfy his own desire. A by-product of this action was that it brought about a closer relationship with the Mongol princes. It would seem that some scholars have pressed this point a little too far in saying that "We may be quite certain that it was not done for his own pleasure and well-being, or because he had a passionate love for the country round Jehol, but from motives of clever statesmanship and far-sightedness."⁽²⁾

Prior to the building of the Summer Palace at Jehol, K'ang-hsi restored a garden (c.1678) near Peking, which had once belonged to a Ming noble, giving it the name Ch'ang-ch'un Yuan 暢春園, and there he often spent several

(1) Quoted in the official local history of Jehol, Je-ho Chi, ch.25.

(2) Sven Hedin: Jehol, City of Emperors, p.144.

months in each year. It was in this garden that for several years he studied mathematics with the Jesuit Missionaries to whom he granted a residence nearby. It was also there that the Russian embassy headed by Izmailov was several times entertained (1720-21)⁽¹⁾.

Perhaps few of the European visitors to Peking have missed the Summer Palace at I-ho Yuan 頤和園 and the ruins of its predecessors, the Yuan-ming Yuan 圓明園 nearby. A review of the history of both palaces serves to show the part played by the na-po in the life of the later Ch'ing rulers.

The Yuan-ming Yuan was originally a country villa given to Yung-chêng (1723-35), the third Ch'ing ruler, by his father K'ang-hsi. Yung-chêng did not follow his father's example of visiting Jehol. Instead he resided, after about 1725, in this villa several months each year.

Ch'ien-lung (1736-96), who succeeded Yung-chêng, paid his first visit to Jehol in 1741 and then every other year during the next ten years. From 1751 onwards, he went there annually and held the annual autumn hunting at

⁽¹⁾ A. W. Hummel ed.: Emminent Chinese of the Ch'ing period, p.330.

Mulun (present Wei-Ch'ang county, Jehol. The Chinese expression wei-ch'ang means 'hunting ground'; Mulun is Manchu meaning to call deer). It was during one of his sojourns in Jehol, in 1793, that Ch'ien-lung received Lord Macartney, the first British Ambassador to China.

Besides his palaces in Peking and in Jehol, Ch'ien-lung made the Yuan-ming Yuan his third main residence. He often resided there, especially in the later part of his life.

The Arrow War of 1857-60 led to the occupation of Peking by the allied English and French forces. In October, 1860, Yuan-ming Yuan and other imperial gardens in the neighbourhood were burnt and pillaged. In 1886, however, the Empress Dowager (1835-1908) built on the site of Ch'ing-i Yuan, 清漪園 one of the destroyed gardens, the new Summer Palace, I-ho Yuan. The rebuilding was financed by funds ear-marked for the construction of a navy. Its rebuilding deprived the country of a much needed navy. The Empress Dowager stayed in this Palace after her "retirement" in 1889.

Nowadays visitors of Peking admire the beauty of this Palace. Yet few of them can perhaps imagine that here lie the traces of the ancient na-po -- one of the

manifestations of the non-Chinese aspects in Chinese history.

Looking back over the evolution of the na-po throughout the four dynasties, Liao, Chin, Yuan and Ch'ing as a whole, the following phases of its development can be distinguished:

(1) Classical periods:

(a) 906-1125, namely the whole of the Khitan-Liao dynasty;

(b) 1115-52. This covers the early period of Jurchen-Chin up to the removal of their capital from Hui-ning to Peking.

Chief features: hunting in spring and autumn, avoiding heat and cold in summer and winter.

(2) Periods of modification:

(a) 1153-1189. This was the first half of the period during which the Jurchen-Chin had their capital in Peking;

(b) 1260-1368, namely the whole of the Yuan from Khubilai;

(c) The reign of K'ang hsi and part of the reign of Ch'ien-lung in the Ch'ing dynasty.

Chief feature: building of summer palaces outside the Great Wall.

(3) Periods of decline and disuse:

1190-1214, namely the latter half of the period while Jurchen-Chin had their capital in Peking and the whole of the Ch'ing dynasty, except the period of K'ang-hsi and part of the reign of Ch'ien-lung.

The picture is instructive. The Liao and Yuan, who were "true" nomads, maintained the institution of na-po right to the end of each dynasty, with the distinction that Liao never entered China and thus maintained the na-po in its classical form throughout, whereas the Yuan, after coming to rule over China, adopted a modified version of the na-po. The Chin and Ch'ing, who were semi-agriculturists and semi-nomads, could not even keep up the modified version of the na-po.

On the problem of acculturation of these non-Chinese dynasties, Dr. Wittfogel has also noticed the distinction between two types of "conquest society" created by two different types of conquerors -- herders, on the one hand and, on the other, herd-owning agriculturists. For the former, the Liao and Yuan, there was only limited acculturation, while for the latter, the Chin and Ch'ing,

there was greater cultural fusion. "Evidently, the predominantly agricultural conquerors offered less resistance to the 'higher' Chinese civilization which though more complex, was also agricultural, than did the Ch'i-tan and the Mongols who maintained a basically different way of life."⁽¹⁾ Our survey of the development of the na-po further illuminates this historical theme.

(1) Wittfogel, op.cit., p.16.

IV.

NA-PO AND THE LIAO POLITICS.

If, as stated above, the Liao emperors spent their whole life in the na-po, some important questions arise: How did they manage to govern their empire, and in particular, to regulate the affairs of the Chinese subjects and what were the real functions of the five capitals which have been considered as the chief symbols of their sinicization? We leave the problem of the five capitals for later discussion and first consider the problem of how the Liao administration worked.

According to the Liao History, the Liao emperor discussed state affairs twice each year, once during his sojourn in the summer na-po and once in the winter na-po, with officials from both the Northern and the Southern Regions (see above, p.14,16). This means that for every half year the Liao emperor held with those high officials a supreme political council in which important national affairs were decided. Which offices formed the officialdom of the Northern Region and which formed that of the Southern; what were the chief functions of officials of both Regions? While the supreme council was the organ

which decided the important affairs, how was the routine business transacted? All these seem to be main problems of the Liao politics which must be disentangled before a fair understanding of the Liao administration is possible.

The division of the Liao officialdom into Southern and Northern Regions which characterized Liao politics, naturally came to be noticed by the contemporary Sung statesmen. One of the Sung envoys to the Liao court, Yü Ching reported:

"For the barbarian (Liao) officials, those in charge of affairs concerning the Khitan are dressed in barbarian (Khitan) costumes and are called the "Khitan officials". The Chancellor (Shu-mi Shih 樞密使) and the Chief Minister are known as the Northern Chancellor and the Northern Chief Minister. Those in charge of affairs concerning the Chinese, even if they are barbarians (Khitan), are dressed in Chinese costumes and are called "Chinese officials", and the highest of them are known as the Southern Chief Minister and the Southern Chancellor." (1)

(1) Yü Ching 余靖 acted three times as the Sung ambassador to Liao (1043, 1044 and 1045).

The section on the Khitan in the Sung National History remarks:

"As for their (the Khitan) officialdom, there were the Khitan Chancellery, (Ch'i-tan Shu-mi Yuan 契丹樞密院) and the Superintendancy of (the Khitan subjects under) the Ordo (契丹行宮都部署). These form the administration of the Northern Region, so called because these offices are situated to the north of the imperial tent. This Region is entrusted with the administration of affairs concerning the barbarians. Again, there are the Chinese Chancellery (Han-jen Shu-mi Yuan 漢人樞密院), and the Grand Imperial Secretaries (Chung-shu Shêng 中書省) and the Superintendancy of (the Chinese subjects under) the Ordo (漢人行宮都部署). These form the administration of the Southern Region, so called because these offices are situated to the south of the imperial tent. This Region is in charge of affairs concerning the Chinese."

Both statements corroborate the account of these offices given by the Liao History itself in which it is stated: "After T'ai-tsung's conquest of China (in 947), [the Liao officialdom] was divided into a Northern and a Southern [Region] with a view to governing the Khitan. with old

Khitan usages and the Chinese with traditional Chinese system of government."⁽¹⁾

From information so far available, one can see that the history of the development of Liao officialdom divided itself into two chief phases with the year 947 serving as the dividing line. Before 947 it was predominately tribal. After 947 there existed the dual administration of Northern and Southern Regions governing affairs concerning the Khitan and the Chinese respectively. The officialdom of the Northern Region comprised the Khitan Chancellery etc., and the officialdom of the Southern Region comprised the Chinese Chancellery etc. Here we digress for one moment from our discussion of the Northern and the Southern Regions to a brief study of the function of the Chancellor (Shu-mi Shih 樞密使) whose office has hitherto been mistakenly taken by students of Chinese political history to be a post concerned merely with military affairs. Without knowing the real function of the Shu-mi Shih, it is difficult to appreciate properly the actual situation of the dual administrative system.

(1) Liao Shih, ch.45, 1a.

The evolution of the office of Shu-mi Shih, from its first appearance in Chinese history in 765 down to 1368 when the title was last used, can be divided into two periods. The first covers the first two hundred years, ending in 960 when the first Sung emperor came to the throne. The second period covers the remaining four hundred years.

In the first period we see it as a minor position held by eunuchs. Its main function was merely to receive memorials and bring them to the eyes of the emperor in the Inner Court, and to proclaim the emperor's decision to the chief ministers for execution. Gradually its power increased. Towards the end of the ninth century, the Shu-mi Shih began to encroach upon the power of the chief ministers and tried to control public affairs through interference with documents. In the beginning of the tenth century, literati, instead of eunuchs, were appointed to this post and they began to usurp the power of the existing chief ministers. In the period 907-923 the title was changed to Ch'ung-chêng Shih 崇政使 (and the office attached to this post became the Ch'ung-chêng Yuan 院). In the second period, from 960 to 1368,

as the highest office governing military affairs, it became one of the two highest governmental organs, rivalling the chief minister-ship.

The course of evolution of this office will be dealt with in a separate section.⁽¹⁾ Here we merely translate one passage from Ou-yang Hsiu, the famous Sung historian:

"In the course of history, we have frequently found examples of offices losing the function implied by their titles. I have had the opportunity of reading the drafts of the imperial edicts of the period of 907-923 (the Later Liang of the Five Dynasties), when Ching Hsiang 敬翔 and Li Chên 李振 were the Commissioners of the Ch'ung-chêng Yuan. During that period, imperial edicts were passed by the Commissioners to the Chief Ministers for execution. When the Chief Minister desired to ask for the imperial approval at times other than those fixed for the regular audience or to confirm the imperial decisions which they had received, they prepared a note to the Commissioners who would inform the emperor of its content. After

(1) See Section V.

the emperor had made the decisions it was also through the Commissioners that these decisions were passed on to the Chief ministers. The Commissioners of the Ch'ung-chên Yuan of the Liang period were the Shu-mi Shih of the T'ang time, whose function was to hand down the imperial decisions or to receive memorials from ministers. During the T'ang period the post of Shu-mi Shih was filled by eunuchs. The Liang dynasty, which learned its lessons from the disasters caused by the T'ang eunuchs, appointed literati to this post. Although the Commissioners of the Ch'ung-chên Yuan had served as advisors of the emperors in the Inner Palace, they had still no proper power of their own in the court. It was not until the period (923-36, the Later Chin), when An Ch'ung-hui 安重誨 and Kuo Ch'ung-tao 郭崇韜 held this office, that the title was once again changed to Shu-mi Shih, and its power became comparable to that of the chief minister. In later times (the Sung), the use of this title continued but its power was divided into two -- the civil matters being entrusted to the chief minister and the military to the Shu-mi Shih. As the post of the Shu-mi Shih

became increasingly important, so the power of the chief minister was gradually reduced."⁽¹⁾

It was during its earlier stage of development that the office of Shu-mi Shih, in its fully developed form (the position holding the actual power of the chief minister) was adopted by the Khitan in their empire. Throughout the Liao dynasty, and in the early period of the Chin, despite the existence of the posts which bore the traditional titles for chief ministers, it was those who held the office of Shu-mi Shih who were actually responsible for the affairs of state.

In the first moon of 947 the second Liao emperor Yeh-lü Te-kuang marched into Pien-liang (K'ai-fêng), the Chinese capital at that time. In the fourth moon he died on his way back to Khitan and the third Liao emperor, Shih-tsung, came to the throne. This year is to be regarded as the date of inauguration of the dual Shu-mi Yuan system, which prevailed throughout the Liao time as well as in the early years of the Chin. In the eighth

(1) Ou-yang Hsui, New History of the Five Dynasties, ch.24, 15b.

moon of this year, Shih-tsung "for the first time established the office of the Northern Shu-mi Shih and An T'uan was appointed to it." Shortly afterwards, "Kao Hsun was appointed to the post of the Southern Shu-mi Shih."⁽¹⁾

The adoption of this system was a solution of a long standing problem for the Liao administration, that is, how their subjects of two entirely different cultures, the nomadic Khitan and other tribes on the one hand, and the sedentary Chinese and Po-hai peoples on the other, were to be governed. The political situation in 948 that led to the adoption of this measure needs a word of explanation.

After the collapse of the T'ang dynasty in 907, China proper was ruled successively by five ephemeral dynasties (907-59). It happened at the end of the second of the five dynasties, that one of its generals, Shih Ching-t'ang 石敬瑭, received military assistance from Khitan and overthrew the dynasty. He made himself emperor of his newly established state (the third of the Five Dynasties) with the name of Chin. As a requital, Shih

(1) Liao Shih, ch.5, 1b-2a.

Ching-t'ang ceded sixteen prefectures on his northern frontier to Khitan in 937. (All these prefectures were located in the area of present Hopei, Shansi and Chahar, including Peking to the east and T'a-t'ung to the west.⁽¹⁾) Apart from this, Shih Ching-t'ang paid Khitan annual tribute and proclaimed himself vassal and son in letters addressed to the Khitan emperor.

On the other hand, since the early years of Apaoki, the founder of the Liao dynasty, a large number of Chinese had been incorporated into the Khitan state. Some of them were captives carried off from China proper and some of them were immigrants who fled from the misrule of the Chinese governor on the frontier provinces adjoining Khitan. Adopting the advice of one of his captives who later became one of his ministers, Apaoki allowed these Chinese to continue their sedentary way of life⁽²⁾. A number of Chinese cities and towns arose in the Khitan world⁽³⁾. For the administration of these Chinese

(1) Cf. the section on Peking.

(2) See p. 184.

(3) The ruins found by Joseph Mullie in Central and Northern Jehol are the remains of such cities. Mullie, J.: op.cit.

subjects Apaoki established a Chinese Board (漢兒司) about which we have no detailed information.

The cession of the sixteen prefectures greatly augmented the already significant Chinese element in the Khitan population. Chinese had now become one of the two essential factors forming the Khitan empire.

In order to cope with the new political situation, T'ai-tsung Yeh-lü Tê-kuang made one of his newly acquired sixteen prefectures the Southern Capital (modern Peking) and changed the nomenclature of a number of the traditional Khitan offices into Chinese equivalents. "The [Khitan] officials, both the high and the low ones," a Chinese source commented on the Liao politics at this period, "are patterned on the Chinese model and Chinese [in addition to the Khitans] are appointed to these posts."⁽¹⁾ Yet how far this reorganization had gone it is impossible to tell. (According to the History of the Khitan Kingdom, a Shu-mi Shih was appointed in this year. This, however is not corroborated by the Liao History.)

Shih Ching-T'ang, who ceded the sixteen prefectures, died in 942. His nephew succeeded. The new Chin emperor

(1) Ssu-ma Kuang, op.cit. ch.281, 18a.

was unwilling to carry out the agreement reached by his uncle with the Khitan. He tried to omit referring to himself as a vassal in his letter to the Khitan emperor who was irritated by this action⁽¹⁾. War broke out in 943 and continued until the end of 946, when the second Chin emperor surrendered.⁽²⁾

Early in 947 the Khitan emperor entered Pien-liang (K'ai-fêng), the capital of the Chin. The surrendered Chin emperor and his family were all sent to the interior of Khitan. Yeh-lü Tê-kuang now ruled as the sole sovereign of both his tribal kingdom and the Chinese Empire. He changed the name of his state from Khitan to the Great Liao. He took over the whole administrative system of Chin and appointed the Chinese officials who had surrendered to new posts. Among the first appointments he made was the office of the Shu-mi Shih. Li Sung⁽³⁾ who had held this office under the Later Chin was appointed to this post with jurisdiction over the Khitan emperors' newly conquered Chinese subjects.

(1) Cf. Yang Lien-shêng: A Posthumous Letter from the Chin Emperor to the Khitan Emperor in 942. (HJAS, Vol.X., Nos.3/4).

(2) Liao Shih, ch.4, 9b, ff.

(3) It is perhaps interesting to note that in the Stein Collection of the Tun-huang manuscripts in the British Museum there is a long scroll (No. S 4473) which I have identified as part of the collected works of Li Sung.

Being unable to withstand the climate of China, Yeh-lü Tê-kuang stayed only three months in K'ai-fêng before he started his journey back to Khitan. He died one and a half months later in Luan-ch'eng, (near Shih chia-chuang, Hopei) before he had reached the Khitan border.

The sixteen prefectures which Khitan had formerly gained from the Later Chin remained in their hands and became a permanent part of the Great Liao Empire. The territory to the South of these prefectures which had recently been conquered was quickly recovered by another Chinese dynasty, the Later Han (947-950) which had succeeded the Later Chin.

Continuation of note from previous page:

It contains (1) Li Sung's elegiac essay to the emperor Kao-tsu of Chin (i.e. Shih Ching-t'ang); (2) a draft of the "posthumous letter" from Shih Chin-t'ang to the Khitan emperor Yeh-lü Tê-kuang; (3) an essay suggesting the posthumous title with which the emperor Kao-tsu should be cannonized; (4) six successive memorials of Li Sung to the new emperor of Chin and four rescripts to him from the emperor replying to the first four of his memorials; and (5) Li Sung's "letter" to his dead mother. (fig.3).

Dr. Lionel Giles has taken these to be unconnected articles (L. Giles: Dated Chinese manuscripts in the Stein Collection, in the Bull. of Sch. of Or. & Afr. Stud., Vol.X, pt.2). Dr. Yang Lien-shêng, who relied on the information given in Dr. Giles' articles has discussed the significance of item (2) (Yang, L.S.: op.cit.)

After Yeh-lü Tê-kuang's death, his nephew who had followed him in his southern campaign, came to the throne as the third Liao emperor, known as Shih-tsung. One of his first actions after he had returned to Khitan was the establishment of the offices of Shu-mi Shih in Khitan territory.⁽¹⁾

The Khitan had a tradition of dividing their offices. Before the adoption of the Shu-mi Yuan system, the Northern and Southern Chief Ministries were the highest organs responsible for their national (tribal) affairs. Other minor offices were also each divided into Northern and Southern sections. (After the adoption of the Shu-mi Yuan system, all these offices still existed and were all subject to the control of the Northern Chancellery.)

(1) The Shu-mi Shih appointed by Yeh-lü Tê-kuang during his stay in K'ien-fêng was among the high officials who were sent back to Khitan when Te-kuang left K'ien-fêng. They were, however, released before crossing the Chinese frontier.

The creation of the dual Shu-mi Yuan was therefore natural in the development of Liao officialdom--a further application of their traditional practice.

Some workers on Liao history have held that the reason why the Khitan chose to use the terms "northern" and "southern" to denote the division of these offices was because of the relative geographical positions of the two main cultural groups in the Liao empire: the Khitan in the north and the Chinese in the south.⁽¹⁾

There is, however, another possible explanation of the division into north and south. Rubruck has described the way in which the tents of the Mongol general Batu and his followers were pitched. The chieftain's tent was pitched in the middle with the opening facing south while the tents of his followers stretched in two directions on either side.⁽²⁾ The Khitan people, however, like a number of other northern tribes of China, had a tradition of honouring the east and their tents were always pitched with the opening facing east. If the Khitan royal tent like that of the Mongol chieftain was erected in the

(1) Wittfogel and Feng, op cit, p. 434-35.

(2) See p. 106.

middle, then as the opening would face east, the tent of his followers would stretch in two wings on either side of it, one to the north and the other to the the south. One wonders whether this may serve as an alternative explanation of the origin of the "northern" and "southern," so frequently used in the terminology of the Liao officialdom? We are in fact told by the Sung historiographers (p.79) that the Northern and the Southern Chancelleries were so called because of the position of the tents of these offices in relation to the Khitan royal tent (1).

The reason why I have spent so much time on the origin of the office of the Shu-mi Shih is tat the account of these important offices given in the passages specailly devoted to them in the chpters on officialdom of the Liao History is entirely wrong (2).

(1) Speaking of the composition of the Ordos federation, one of the Mongol federations living on the Great Bend of the upper Yellow River, Dr. W. Eberhard, in his review of A. Mostaert's Folklore Ordos, says: "The tribes (of Ordos) are united in the federation of the Great Temple. This federation is split into a left wing with three "banners" and a right with four, thus repeating a twofold system typical of most of these nomadic federations from the time of the Hunnish and T'u-chueh Empires on." (Jl of Am. Or. Soc., vol.69, No2) The twofold system had been and still are common among the northern peoples of China

(2) Liao Shih, ch.45

The Liao History asserts that there were two Chancelleries (Shu-mi Yuan), one Khitan and one Chinese, and that the Khitan Chancellery itself was again subdivided into a Northern and a Southern Chancellery. Actually the terms Khitan Chancellery and Chinese Chancellery were used by contemporaries as equivalent to the Northern and the Southern Chancellery which governed the Khitan and the Chinese respectively⁽¹⁾. The mistaken statement in the Liao History coupled with the obscurity of the first phase of the development of the Shu-mi Shih have confused many students of Liao history. I do not discuss here

(1) Tsuda Sōkichi has also noticed this error in the Liao History. In his Dual Administrative System of the Liao dynasty he points out: "The Northern Chancellery was the highest organ of the Northern Region, and the Southern Chancellery was that of the Southern Region. The so-called 'Chinese Chancellery' is nothing but the 'Southern Chancellery'." (Mansen chiri rekishi kenkyū hōkoku, No.5.)

Chang Liang-ts'ai 張亮采 has prepared a list of the Northern and Southern Chancellors which is appended to his article A Study of the Chinese Chancellery in the Liao dynasty (Bulletin of the North-Eastern University, No.1, 1941). Although his arguments about the nature of the Chinese Chancellery are not right, the list provides useful data serving to prove the point that there existed no Khitan and Chinese Chancelleries as distinct from the Southern and the Northern Chancelleries.

Based on the mistaken accounts of the Liao History, Dr. Wittfogel and Mr. Fêng Chia-shêng's explanation of these offices have missed the point. (Wittfogel, op.cit., p.435 and pp.440-50.)

the reasons why this mistake was made.⁽¹⁾

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Now to come back to our discussion of the Liao administration. In the semi-annual supreme political Council, held once in the summer na-po and once in the winter na-po, the Liao emperors decided their state affairs. The Council consisted of the officials from the Northern and the Southern Regions, i.e. the Northern and the Southern Chancelleries. In 1050 a retired Northern Chancellor was asked "to come each winter and summer to the na-po (original text hsing-tsai) in order to take part in the discussion of national affairs."⁽²⁾ This shows that, apart from officials in office, other important men were also invited to the Council.

The supreme political Council was, of course, the organ which decided only the most important affairs. How were the routine works transacted? To this question the Liao History gives a fairly clear answer.

"When the emperor made his seasonal tour (i.e. went to one na-po or another), all the Khitan officials, both

(1) See Section VI.

(2) Liao Shih, 93, 3a.

high and low, as well as inner and outer, the attendants, and the officials belonging to the Chinese Hsüan-hui Yuan⁽¹⁾ accompanied him. From the Chinese Chancellery and the Grand Imperial Secretariat, there were chosen only one Chief Minister, two Chancellery Ch'êng-chih, 承旨 the chief and the deputy (who were in charge of imperial edicts), ten Chancellery clerks and one clerk of the Secretariat; from the Censorate one person was also chosen to take part.

"Every year, in the first decade of the first moon, when the emperor started (for the spring na-po), officials from the chief minister down returned to the Central Capital⁽²⁾, where they remained, dealing with affairs concerning the Chinese. Appointments of officials were made on a temporary basis by a memorandum from the Secretariat. Imperial approval would be sought and official certificates of appointment would be issued in the next session of the Supreme Political Council. Appointments of civil posts from the rank of magistrate

(1) The Hsüan-hui Yuan was the office in charge of the court etiquette.

(2) Modern Ta-ning Chêng 大寧城 in Central Jehol.

and district-secretary down could be made by the Secretariat without informing the emperor. But all military appointments had to be reported."⁽¹⁾

Herein we find the essence of the dual Chancellery system. After an overwhelming Chinese population had been incorporated into their empire, the Liao emperors, who were on the one hand unable to convert these Chinese subjects to their own way of life and on the other unwilling to give up this way of life, could not rule directly over these Chinese. They therefore introduced the system of entrusting the governmental business relating to the Chinese to a special organ, the Southern (Chinese) Chancellery. It was the Southern Chancellery which was responsible for the handling of the routine affairs concerning the Chinese. It was also the Southern Chancellery which appointed Chinese officials, for ranks from the magistrate down even without the necessity of informing the court. It was actually the Southern Chancellors who ruled over the Chinese within the Liao Empire.

(1)

Liao Shih, 33, 3b.

As for the affairs concerning the Khitan -- although they were also entrusted to a Chancellery (the Northern Chancellery), the situation was different. As the Khitan officials all accompanied the Liao emperors on their tours the year round, the Liao emperors were in a position to handle their tribal affairs personally -- as they had before the introduction of the Chancellery system.

Although the Northern and the Southern Chancellors held the same rank, they did not have the same power. The Northern Chancellor exerted a much greater power than his Southern counterpart. In 1120, while Tso Ch'i-kung was holding the office of Acting Southern Chancellor:

"The Chin army occupied the Supreme Capital. The Northern Chancellery, fearing that this news would displease the Liao emperor, did not inform him in due time. According to the Liao practice, all military affairs had first to be reported to the Northern Chancellery which would then inform the Liao emperor. Ch'i-kung let the emperor know directly. The Liao emperor said: 'Military affairs would seem not to be within the range of your duty.' Ch'i-kung replied:

'The Empire has come to such a pass, how dare I conform to the old practice and consider only my own interest?' (1)

(1) Chin Shih, 75, 4a.

← Military affairs were therefore entirely controlled
↓ by the Northern Chancellery.

The Northern Chancellorships were held exclusively by the Khitan. (Among them was one Chinese, who had, however, been 'naturalized' as a Khitan and who had received the special favour of the ruling Liao sovereign, the Empress Dowager Ch'êng-t'ien.) The Southern Chancellorships were held by Chinese during the first half of the period while the office was in existence, and conjointly by Chinese and Khitan in the second half.⁽¹⁾ The members of the staff of the Northern Chancellery was chiefly Khitan and those of the Southern Chancellery were Chinese. The whole body of officials belonging to the Southern Region --
↑ and the Liao emperors themselves while receiving envoys

(1) The actual situation of the appointment of the office of Southern Chancellors is as follows:

947- 951	Chinese
954-1030	Chinese
1031-1064	Khitan
1066-1084	Chinese
1086-1094	Khitan
1102-1104	Chinese
1114-1119	Chinese

The gaps were periods during which the holders of the office are unknown.

← from other countries, or on other state occasions --
↓
were dressed in Chinese manner, and the officials of the Northern Region were all dressed in Khitan costumes⁽¹⁾.

One may perhaps describe the Liao Empire by saying that it practically consisted of two "states", one Khitan and one Chinese. Neither did the Khitan convert their Chinese subjects, nor did the Chinese sinicize their Khitan conquerors.

In 1043, Hsiao Hsiao-chung who was holding the office of the Northern Chancellor, suggested: "The reason for the difference of the customs of [our Khitan and Chinese subjects] is the existence of the two Chancelleries. The country would benefit greatly if they were merged into one."⁽²⁾ Before any action was taken in this direction, Hsiao-chung died.

In the story of the Liao Chancellors we find also the explanation for the relationship that existed between Liao and Sung. Under the second Sung emperor ↑ who wanted to regain the sixteen prefectures lost by

(1) See p. 78.

(2) Liao Shih, ch.81, 2b.

← Chin, there was some conflict between the two states.

But from the peace treaty of 1004, down to 1115, Liao and Sung maintained a smooth diplomatic relationship rare in Chinese history. One wonders why the Khitan rulers -- since they had possession of the sixteen prefectures which contained the strategic region which served as a natural barrier dividing China from the northern barbarian world⁽¹⁾ -- contented themselves with their status quo and made no further attempt to advance. The reason is simple. They did not want to. They did not even like to bother themselves with ruling their own Chinese subjects.

When the second Liao emperor, Yeh-lü Tê-kuang, was launching his southern campaign against the Chin in 943, his mother asked: "Do you think it possible to appoint a Chinese to rule over our country?"

"Impossible!" Tê-kuang replied. "Thus, even if you conquer China, you will not be able to rule over it.

↑ Eventually it will prove to be a disaster, and it

(1) See p. 145 ff.

←would be too late for you to regret." ⁽¹⁾ The desire for revenge induced Tê-kuang to carry out his punitive expedition. Chin was overturned. But as his mother had foretold he did not rule over it long. After a short stay in Pien-liang he summoned his Chinese (the Chin) officials and said to them: "It is growing hot. I cannot stay here longer. I want to pay a temporary visit to my homeland in order to see my mother." ⁽²⁾ Then he abandoned his newly acquired Pien-liang and started his journey home.

After having crossed the Yellow River Tê-kuang said to one of his followers: "When I was in my homeland, I took pleasure in hunting and eating game. After I came to China I always felt unhappy. If I am able to go back to my homeland, even if I die, I shall have no regrets." ⁽³⁾

Here Tê-kuang and his mother expressed the view on China typical of the nomads. As none of Tê-kuang's

(1) Ou-yang Hsiu: New History of the Five Dynasties, ch.73, 6b.

(2) Ssu-ma Kuang, op.cit. ch.286.

(3) Ou-yang Hsiu, ibid., ch.72, 19a.

← successors ever tried to abandon the nomadic way of life this point of view continued to prevail. It is not surprising therefore that the dual Shu-mi Yuan system persisted down to the end of their dynasty.

The creation of the dual Shu-mi Yuan system illustrates the problem which faced all the nomadic states outside the Great Wall in founding dynasties in China. When a nomadic power had come to the stage of embracing part of China proper in its realm, there arose, for its nomad rulers, the problem of how to adapt themselves to this new phase of their development. Since obviously their original governmental system could not be applied to China, the problem which arose was not whether or not they should adopt the Chinese system of government, but to what extent they should, or would, adapt themselves to it. While the Liao rulers who were unwilling to give up their original way of life (or, perhaps, the part of China under their control was not big enough to attract them) found the solution of this problem in the dual Shu-mi Yuan system, the three subsequent non-Chinese

dynasties, the Chin, Yuan and Ch'ing, came south of the Great Wall and ruled as if they were Chinese.⁽¹⁾

(1) For further discussions of the process of the foundation of dynasties in China by these nomads, see the section on Peking.

II. THE LIAO ORDO

- (1) The Mongol Ordo
- (2) The Liao Ordo
- (3) The Organization of the Liao Ordo.

(1) The Mongol Ordo.

The account given by the Persian historian Djouvieni of Ogotai's grand tent, the Sira Ordo, has already been quoted. (p.59) We obtain further information about this tent in the reports of a Southern Sung envoy, P'êng Ta-ya, who visited Ogotai's court about 1234.

"The tent of the Tartar sovereign faces south and it alone is pitched in the front row. Next come the tents of his womenfolk. Further behind are those of his officials.

"Every place in which the tent of the Tartar sovereign is pitched while he goes out hunting is called a Wo-li-t'o (ordo). Only the "gold tent" (so called because its poles are made of gold), which is inhabited by his wives and concubines and which is pitched along with his followers', is known as the Grand Wo-li-t'o (ordo). It is always erected in recesses in the hills in order to avoid the force of the wind. It is something like the imperial temporary residences of Chinese emperors. [Like the

ordinary wo-li-t'o] it has no fixed location and is moved monthly or at the change of seasons."(1)

Two medieval European travellers also provide us with valuable accounts of the ordo of two important Mongol nobles.

In 1246, Friar Johannes de Plano Carpini was sent as ambassador by Pope Innocent IV to the court of Kuyuk. After entering the territory of the "blacke Kythayans" (Kara-Khitai), he travelled along the southern bank of a lake, probably modern Ala Kul, and came upon the ordo of Ordu, son of Juji, the eldest son of Chinghis and brother of Batu.

"In this lande dwelleth Ordu, whome wee sayde to bee auncient vnto all the Tartarian dukes. And it is the Orda or court of his father which hee inhabiteth, and one of his wiues beareth rule there. For it is a custome among the Tartars, that the Courts of Princes or of noble men are not dissolued, but alwayes some women are appointed to keepe and gouerne them, vpon whom certain gifts are bestowed, in like sort as they are giuen vnto their Lords.

(1) P'êng Ta-ya 彭大雅: Mêng-t'a pei-lu (see note on p. 194).

And so at length we arrived at the first court of the Emperour, wherein one of his wives dwelt."⁽¹⁾

Seven years later, in 1253, another friar, William of Rubruk, was sent by the French King Louis to the court of Mangu Khan. After Rubruk had crossed the Volga⁽²⁾ he found the ordo of Batu, the Mongol Commander-in-Chief who overran Eastern Europe.

"Moreover, when I first beheld the court of Baatu, I was astonished at the sight thereof; for his houses or tents seemed as though they had bene some huge and mighty citie, stretching out a great way in length, the people ranging up and downe about it for the space of some three or foure leagues.....

"Where-upon the court is called in their language Horda, which signifieth, the midst;⁽³⁾ because the gouvernour or chieftaine among them dwells alwaies in the midst of his people: except onely that directly towards the South no subject or inferiour person placeth himselfe,

(1) Beazley, C.R.ed.: The texts and versions of John de Plano Carpini and William de Rubruquis, p.134.

(2) Rubruquis crossed the Volga between Kazan and Simbirsk, below the confluence of the Kama and the Volga in eastern Russia.

(3) According to Shiratori, ordo was originally kordu or xordu, the root of which, xor or kor, has the meaning "centre".
cont. over.

because towards that region the court gates are set open; but vnto the right hand, and the left hand they extend theſelves as farre as they will according to the conueniencie of places, so that they place not their houses directly opposite against the court."⁽¹⁾

From these Mongol ordo are derived such various terms as "horde" and its equivalents in many European languages, reminiscent of the one-time supremacy of Mongol power in Eastern Europe. In China it gives the name to the tribe which has inhabited the Great Bend of the Yellow River beyond the Great Wall since the second half of the 15th century.⁽²⁾ In India the name of one of its two chief languages, the Urdu, is also indirectly derived from this word.

The first known appearance of the term is in the

Continuation of note from previous page:

In present day Turkish, ordu, orta also have the meaning of centre. As the camp of the nomad rulers was always pitched in the middle of those of his followers, ordo came to be used to denote the residence, or palace, of these nomad rulers. (Shiratori, op.cit.)

(1) Beasley, op.cit. p.218.

inscription on one of the Sino-Altaiic bilingual monuments, which was erected in about 723, by the Orkhon River in Outer Mongolia. Thomsen takes the term in that context to mean a camp or capital⁽¹⁾ and it is, therefore, already used in the same sense as in later ages. Several experts have tried to find earlier references in Chinese literature.

A comparative study of the Mongol ordo and the Liao na-po shows that they were essentially similar in nature. The four grand Mongol ordo played the same part in the life of the Mongol Khans as the four principal na-po in that of the Liao emperors -- serving in both cases as the residence of those nomad rulers and the centre of their politics. Nevertheless, they differed from one another in many ways. The Liao na-po in each season was always inhabited by the emperor accompanied by all his wives. The Mongol grand ordo (usually four, sometimes more)⁽²⁾

(2) Continuation of the notes on previous page
 The tribe originally lived about one of the ordo of Chinghis (probably the one for the winter) across the Desert far to the north of their present territory. Howorth, accepting Schmidt's view, holds that it was probably from the body of Mongols who, after the death of Chinghis, had the special duty of protecting this ordo that the tribe eventually received its name. (Howorth, I, 401. Cf. also A Mostaert: *Textes Oraux Ordus*, p.1.

(1) Wilhelm Thomsen: Inscriptions de l'Orkhon, p.113.

(2) Cf. Yanai: A study of the ordo of the Yuan dynasty. (Yanai, op.cit., p.663-768.)

were each managed by one or more of the Mongol "queens" who were visited in turn by the Khan in different seasons. The Liao na-po was given up after the death of its owner. The Mongol ordo continued to exist and was inhabited by the widows of the Khan.

Partial explanation for the differences between these two institutions is to be found in the existence of another Liao institution -- the Liao ordo system which we shall deal with in this section.

(2) The Liao Ordo.

In the Liao dynasty, from its founder Apaoki onwards to the last of its rulers T'ien-tso, each of the nine emperors had an ordo to which the Liao History gives as equivalent the Chinese term kung ("palace"). In addition, two powerful empresses and a younger brother of one of the emperors each had an ordo, as had one high official who had obtained the special favour of one of these empresses. The ordo of this official was known as the "Princely Mansion", as distinguished from the imperial "palaces". Thus, at the end of the Liao dynasty, there were altogether twelve Ordo ("Palaces") and one "Princely

Mansion."

The Liao History includes a special section dealing specially with the guards of these palace-orde. Again, in the section devoted to the Liao army, it gives foremost attention to the orde cavalry⁽¹⁾. As a result, later readers have been tempted to assume that it was essentially an organ concerned with the army.

As both the mêng-an and mu-k'o system of the Chin period and the Banner system of the Ch'ing dynasty⁽²⁾ -- which, in spite of their outward military features, were not solely military organizations -- so the Liao orde should not be considered as a purely military system, although ^{the orde guard} ~~it~~ formed an important part of the Liao army.

The Liao orde, in brief, was the imperial camp, in which was housed the office in charge of the Liao emperors' personal domain -- namely the Khitan and other tribal units and the Chinese and Pohai cities and towns which,

(1) Dr. Wittfogel and Mr. Fêng Chia-sheng have translated most of the important passages in these two sections (Wittfogel and Fêng, op. cit., p.540-548).

(2) For the mêng-an and mu-k'o and the Eight-Banner systems, see p. 168 & 175.

instead of belonging to the Liao state, were owned by the emperors themselves. From such tribes and cities were drawn the troops and taxes which formed the private army and personal income of the emperors. The authors of the Liao History laid stress on the military aspect of this system; the Chin History mentioned it as the equivalent of a tribe⁽¹⁾; the Sung contemporaries of the Liao saw it as an office similar to the Chinese imperial "Inner Treasury".

To explain the rise and development of this system we have to go back to the history of the early years of the Khitan state, or rather, tribe.

In 906 the last Khan of the Yiao-nien House of the Khitan state died. The following year, 907, Apaoki assumed the khanate and thus marked the beginning of the Khitan-Liao dynasty, as it appeared in Chinese history. By that time the Khitan state comprised the confederation

(1) The Chin History (ch. 65, 16) gives the names of a number of Liao tribes which surrendered to the Jurchen on the Liao south-western front. Among other tribes it mentions "the tribe of Chang-ming Kung", i.e. the ordo of the fifth Liao emperor, Ching-tsung.

of twelve tribes (which may be described as the Khitan proper)⁽¹⁾, a number of newly subjugated tribes adjacent to Khitan, and one or two cities north of the Great Wall founded by the Chinese whom Apaoki had brought back from his campaigns against China.

Among the twelve tribes of the Khitan proper, there was the I-la tribe which had served as the personal tribe, or body-guard, of the Yiao-nien Khan throughout their dynasty⁽²⁾. This tribe was the most powerful of all the inner tribes of Khitan. The ancestors of Apaoki had held successively the post of i-li-chin, or chieftain, of this tribe. Eventually, it was from his post as the i-li-chin of the I-la tribe that Apaoki replaced the Yao-nein House.

After his accession, having relinquished his chieftainship of the I-la, Apaoki realized that he had no personal guard. To meet this need he selected more than two thousand men from various tribes and formed a "belly and

(1) The Liao History (ch.32, 8a) gives the number of tribes as twenty. This is clearly a mistake. See P. 255 ff.

(2) Cf. Ch'ên Shu 陳述 : Ch'i-tan Shih-hsüan K'ao. (Bull. of Inst. of Hist. and Phil., Vol. 8, No. 2).

heart corps" to serve as his private army.⁽¹⁾

Later, after enlarging this corps by adding a few prefectures and counties inhabited or founded by his Pohai and Chinese war captives, he established an ordo to manage its affairs. Speaking of the creation of Apaoki's Suan Ordo, the Liao History states:

"The Suan Ordo was established by T'ai-tsu (Apaoki).

In the national (Khitan) language, suan means "heart and belly" and ordo means "palace". It is known [in Chinese] as Hung-i Kung, the "Palace of Loyalty". It was created with the personal guard (of T'ai-tsu), to which were added the war captives taken from Pohai and the [Chinese] households in the prefecture of Ching-chou. The ordo was situated in Lin-huang (the Supreme Capital). The mausoleum was situated 20 li to the south-east of the prefecture Tsu-chou.

"This ordo had 8,000 "regular households" and 7,000 barbarian and Chinese "transferred households." It provides 6,000 horsemen."⁽²⁾

(1) Liao Shih, ch.73, 3a.

(2) Liao Shih, ch.31, 2a.

The course of development of the ordo system becomes even clearer if one knows of the Liao t'ou-hia system⁽¹⁾

Throughout the Liao dynasty important nobles and officials had their private cities and towns -- what were called the "mandatory" prefectures and counties (the t'ou-hsia chou chün 頭下州軍).

"The mandatory prefectures and counties were (the cities and towns which were) founded by princes, members of the families of the royal consorts, high officials, and [chieftains of] various tribes in order to resettle their war captives and the slaves they had made. Those princes belonging to the "Supreme-tents"⁽²⁾, brothers of royal consorts and princesses were allowed to build city walls. Others were not allowed to do so. The Court retained the right to name the prefecture or county. [The governor], if of the rank of chieh-tu-shih, was to be appointed

(1) Dr. Wittfogel identifies the term t'ou-hsia with the Mongol noun tüši-yä (support) derived from the verbal stem tüši, meaning "to rely on, to trust." (Wittfogel, p.65).

(2) The descendants of Apaoki's^{father} belonged to the "Supreme Tents" (hêng-chang 橫帳). This term means literally the horizontal tents. Here we follow Chin Yü-fu's interpretation.

by the Court, but if of the rank of tz'ü-shih he was appointed (by the lord) from among his retainers. The taxes levied on officials from the ninth rank down and on the traders were all retained by the mandatory lord. Only the tax on wine was paid over to the Board of Salt-and-Iron in the Supreme Capital."⁽¹⁾

The mandatory prefectures and counties were only one of the two sides of the t'ou-hsia system. It can be inferred that there were also tribal units which were "mandatory".

From these mandatory tribal units and cities, the Liao nobles provided themselves with private armies which the Liao government could "borrow" in case of need. The Liao History states:

"The Liao princes and high officials treated the state as if it were their family. In campaigns [carried on by the government] they often provided private armies to assist the government. The larger [of these armies] comprised up to a thousand or more horsemen and the smaller several hundred horsemen.

(1) Liao Shih, ch.37, 11b.

They were registered by the government. Thus, when the state undertook any military action it could borrow from three to five thousand horsemen as needed. The remaining horsemen were kept back to serve as the nucleus of the tribes."⁽¹⁾

Therefore the ordo was a form of the t'ou-hsia system. (In the Mongol-Yuan dynasty, the t'ou-hsia system also existed. But we shall not explain it here in detail.)

Knowing the background of the rise of the ordo system, we can more easily follow the accounts given by the Liao History of this important institution.

"After T'ai-tsu ascended the throne through [his chieftainship of] the I-la tribe, he split this tribe into the [tribes of] the Five Divisions and the Six Divisions, the control of which was entrusted to members of the royal family. By so doing he deprived himself of his personal guard. Therefore he established the system of ordo.

This was a system by which prefectures and counties, and households and individuals, were separated [from

(1) Liao Shih, ch.35, 7a.

the regular administration] and placed under the ordo with a view to strengthening (the authority of) the trunk (the Crown) at the expense of the branches (the state). The institution of this system proved an invaluable legacy to his successors: each following emperor established [an ordo of his own together with] an ordo guard to protect him in his residence, to accompany him when going out, and to guard his mausoleum after death. If any military operation had to be undertaken, the Control Offices of the ordo, the t'i-hsia-ssü, in the five Capitals and two prefectures, issued orders for the assembly [of troops]. The result was that before it was necessary to draw any troops from either the prefectures and counties or the tribes and sub-tribes [under the government], there were already a hundred thousand cavalrymen ready to go into action. They were personally loyal to the emperor, well equipped and thoroughly trained. The cream of the army of the empire was thus kept in the belly and heart (under the control of the Crown). The feeling of loyalty grew with time and [the number of] new recruits increased

with the accession of each new emperor. This was indeed a fine military system."⁽¹⁾

Here we see that the compilers of the Liao History depict the ordo from a purely military point of view.

But to the eyes of visitors to Khitan from sedentary regions, the system of ordo conveys a different impression. The Sung envoy to Khitan, Yü Ching, reports:

"From Apaoki onwards, each of the Liao rulers, on ascending the throne, had a palace (ordo) established and appointed to it a governor whose function it was to administer the slaves presented to him each year by his vassals and the booty brought back from expeditions against foreign nations. Each palace had its own retainer households and revenues, which provided for the private expenditure of the barbarian (Liao) emperor. It was something like the imperial Inner Treasury [of China]. The retainers of the ten palaces⁽²⁾ style themselves hsiao-ti ("servants"). Their status is similar to that of the government slaves in China."

(1) Liao Shih, ch.35, 1b.

(2) Yu Ching visited the Liao court in 1043-45 (see p.78) There were only ten ordo existing at that time.

The Sung National History, based probably on the report of a different envoy, gives a similar impression:

"Whenever a new [Liao] sovereign comes to the throne, he gathers together the people, horses, cattle, gold and silk which he has captured, the prisoners presented by his vassals and persons who have been made slaves as punishment for crimes, and sets up a separate palace (hsing-kung) to govern them. [Under the authority of this palace] he establishes prefectures and counties and appoints officials. When he dies, a big tent is set up and a golden image of himself is made. On the first and fifteenth days of each moon, and on the day of his death, sacrifices are made. A platform more than ten feet high is built, on which sacrificial food is burnt -- a practice known by them as "burning-food".

"Each of the ten palaces has its own households and provides its own troops and horses."⁽¹⁾

Only by combining these accounts given by the southern contemporaries of the Khitan with that of the Liao History can a more or less complete picture of this institution be reconstructed.

(1) The section on the ordo included in the History of the Khitan Kingdom (ch.23, 3b-4a) is based on this passage. (Cf. Stein's translation in T'oung Pao, 1940).

(3) The organization of the Ordo.

As in the Liao state itself, in each ordo there were members of the two different sections of the population, the tribal and the sedentary. The Suan Ordo, the ordo of Apaoki, for instance, included:

(A) in the sedentary section:

- (a) 5 prefectures
- (b) 1 county
- (c) 4 Control Offices, t'i-hsia-ssŭ

(B) in the tribal section:

- (a) 2 shih-lieh
- (b) 4 wa-li
- (c) 4 mo-li (or mi-li)
- (d) 2 te-li
- (e) 7 cha-sa

Among the sedentary units, the function of the t'i-hsia-ssŭ (which we have rendered as "Control Office") needs some explanation. Control Offices were established in four of the five capitals, (Southern, Western, Central and Supreme)^{and} in the two prefectures, Fêng-shêng Chou and P'ing-chou, both on the southern frontier where the Chinese population was most dense. The function of the t'i-hsia-ssŭ, if we may judge from a similar office in the Yuan dynasty) was to control that part of the population of the city which belonged to some particular ordo. Thus

of the 13 ordo, 11 ~~each~~ had a t'i-hsia-ssũ in the Southern Capital, 8 in the Western, 2 in the Central, and 1 in the Supreme, ^{and} 9 in Fêng-shêng Chou and 9 in P'ing Chou. This explanation is appropriate to the status of the t'i-hsia-ssũ, which in the text of the Liao History are always mentioned after the prefectures and counties belonging entirely to the ordo.

Here we differ from Dr. Wittfogel and Mr. Fêng Chia-shêng who consider this office (which they translate as the "Control Base") as the organ which actually held control of the military affairs of the ordo. In view of the dual administrative nature of the Liao power and the tradition of the Liao army, it is impossible for the t'i-hsia-ssũ, established in the cities inhabited by the Chinese, to exercise control over the military affairs of the Khitan tribes. Moreover, had these offices been of such importance, they would not have been relegated to a place even below that of the counties.

As quoted above, the Liao History states that if there were any military operations, "the Control Offices of the ordo, the t'i-hsia-ssũ, issued orders for the assembling of troops" (p.117). This refers only to the troops drawn

from the ordo retainers in those cities. The compilers of the History are here describing only one of the aspects of the ordo army system --- merely concerning themselves with the capitals with which, as literati, they were more familiar. This over-simplified account of the mobilization procedure of the ordo can by no means be used as a basis for a discussion of the whole ordo army system.⁽¹⁾

Among the tribal units, the shih-lieh was the most important subdivision under the tribe. Usually each tribe controlled two shih-lieh --- although occasionally three, four, or even more are recorded under one tribe. It is not easy to say how many people formed a shih-lieh. We know that, however, when the I-la tribe was divided into two parts because of its expansion, its five shih-lieh formed the new Five Divisions Tribe and its six chao formed the Six Divisions Tribe. The term chao is apparently another unit of a size similar to that of the shih-lieh. The glossary attached to the History⁽²⁾ defines chao as

⁽¹⁾ Cf. Wittfogel, op.cit., p.514.

⁽²⁾ Liao Shih, ch.116, 21b.

"hundred". We cannot tell definitely how much light this throws on our problem.

The mo-li (mi-li) was a smaller unit than the shih-lieh. In stating the origin of Apaoki, the Liao History records that he was born "in the mi-li called Yeh-lü of the shih-lieh, or hsiang, called Hsia-lai-i of the I-la Tribe."⁽¹⁾ In this passage the compilers equated the Khitan term shih-lieh with the Chinese term hsiang, which means village. From this we may infer that mi-li is equivalent to ts'un, "hamlet". In another passage, however, shih-lieh is explained as being equal to hsien, county.

Wa-li was the term applied to the special units in which were placed the families of members of the Liao royal house, of relatives of the royal consorts, and of high officials, who had committed crimes and had been enslaved. Tê-li and cha-sa were two other different tribal units the size and nature of which are unknown.

From the data given by the Liao History, we can prepare a table of the order throughout the whole dynasty.

(1) Liao Shih, ch.1,1a.

rulers and reign periods	names of ordo		sedentary domain				tribal domain						households controlled		horses provided
	in Khitan	in Chinese	prefect- ures.	counties	control offices	shih-lien	wa-li	mo-li	te-li	cha-sa	regular (Khitan)	transferred barb.& Chin			
T'ai-tsu (916-26)	Suan Ordo	Hung-i Palace	5	1	4	2	4	4	2	7	8,000	7,000	6,000		
Empress Ying-t'ien (953)	P'ien-wan Ordo	Ch'ang- ning Palace	4	3	4	1	6	13			7,000	6,000	5,000		
T'ai-tsung (927-46)	Kuo-a-nien Ordo	Yung-hsing Palace	4	2	4	1	4	13			3,000	7,000	5,000		
Shih-tsung (947-50)	Yeh-lin-wan Ordo	Chi-ch'ing Palace	3	1	4	1	8	10			5,000	8,000	8,000		
Lin-tsung (951-68)	To-li-pen Ordo	Yen-ch'ang Palace	2	0	3	1	4	4			1,000	3,000	2,000		
Ching-tsung (969-82)	Chien-mu Ordo	Chang-min Palace	4	2	4	2	7	11			8,000	10,000	10,000		
Empress Ch'ing-tien (1009)	Ku-wên Ordo	Ch'ung-tê Palace	4	1	3	3	7	11		5	6,000	10,000	10,000		
Shêng-tsung (983-1031)	Wu-ku Ordo	Hsing-shêng Palace	5	0	4	4	6	9		5	10,000	20,000	5,000		
Prince Hsiao-wên (1016)	Ch'i-shih- Tê-pên Ordo	Tun-mu Palace	3	0	1	2	6	2		2	3,000	5,000	5,000		
Han Tê-jang (1011)	Mansion of Prince Wên- chung		1	0	6	0	0	0			5,000	8,000	10,000		
Hsing-tsung (1031-55)	Wo-tu-wan Ordo	Yen-ch'ing Palace	3	0	4	2	6	6			7,000	10,000	10,000		
Tao-tsung (1055-1100)	A-sü Ordo	T'ai-ho Palace	0	0	?	2	8	7			10,000	20,000	15,000		
T'ien-tso (1100-25)	A-lin-wan Ordo	Yung-ch'ang Palace	0	0	?	2	8	8			8,000	10,000	10,000		
Total			38	10	41	23	74	98	2	19	81,000	124,000	101,000		

Therefore, at the end of the Liao dynasty, the various ordo jointly held under their control

- (A) 38 prefectures, 10 counties and 41 control offices;
- (B) 23 Shih-lieh, 74 wa-li, 98, mo-li, 2 tê-li
and 19 cha-sa.

which together had 81,000 regular Khitan households and 124,000 barbarian (probably Pohai) and Chinese households and provided 101,000 horsemen.⁽¹⁾ The Liao History's statement that the ordo provided one hundred thousand horsemen (p.117) refers therefore only to the closing years of the dynasty.

Out of a total of 156 prefectures and 209 counties⁽²⁾ and 52 tribes⁽³⁾ within the boundaries of the Liao state, the ordo actually controlled from a fifth to a sixth of the sedentary population of the state and about a quarter of the tribal.⁽⁴⁾ The Superintendent of the ordo (Hsing-kung to-pu shu) was under the control of the Northern

(1) These estimated figures slightly differ from the data provided by the Liao History which gives the number of the regular households as 80,000, of the barbarian and Chinese transferred households as 123,000 and of the horsemen as 100,000.

(2) Liao Shih, ch.37, 2a.

(3) Liao Shih, ch.33, 1 ff.

(4) Tentatively we estimate the population under the 40 Control Offices as equivalent to that of 10 prefectures, and that of the 23 shih-lieh and other tribal units as equivalent to 15 tribes.

Chancellery. ~~with~~ The ordo, although they were the ^{thus} private property of the Liao rulers, were/not altogether independent of the governmental administration. Nevertheless by separating such a high proportion of population from the regular administration, and putting it under more personal control, the Liao rulers felt themselves in a more secure position in their state.

* * * *

Although the ordo guards were the private army of the Liao rulers, they fought alongside the other army units of the state. In 994 the troops of the Yung-hsing Palace (i.e. the ordo of T'ai-tsung) and the Wu-kuo and other tribes of the North-western Route were dispatched "to pacify the western frontiers"⁽¹⁾. In 1015 the various ordo and the Supreme and the Central capitals were ordered to select 55,000 soldiers to prepare for the campaign against Korea⁽²⁾. In 1083, in the war against the Mo-ku-saü (Mongols), in which the Liao army was defeated, "most of the soldiers of the two Shih-wei tribes, the "Northern King" the Te-men, the Horse-rearing Units and of the Ordo were captured by the enemy."⁽³⁾

Even the 4,000 Khitan soldiers who guarded the imperial seasonal na-po were not entirely drawn from the ordo guards.

(1) Liao Shih, ch.13,5a. (2) Liao Shih, ch.15,9b.

(3) Liao Shih, ch.25,5a.

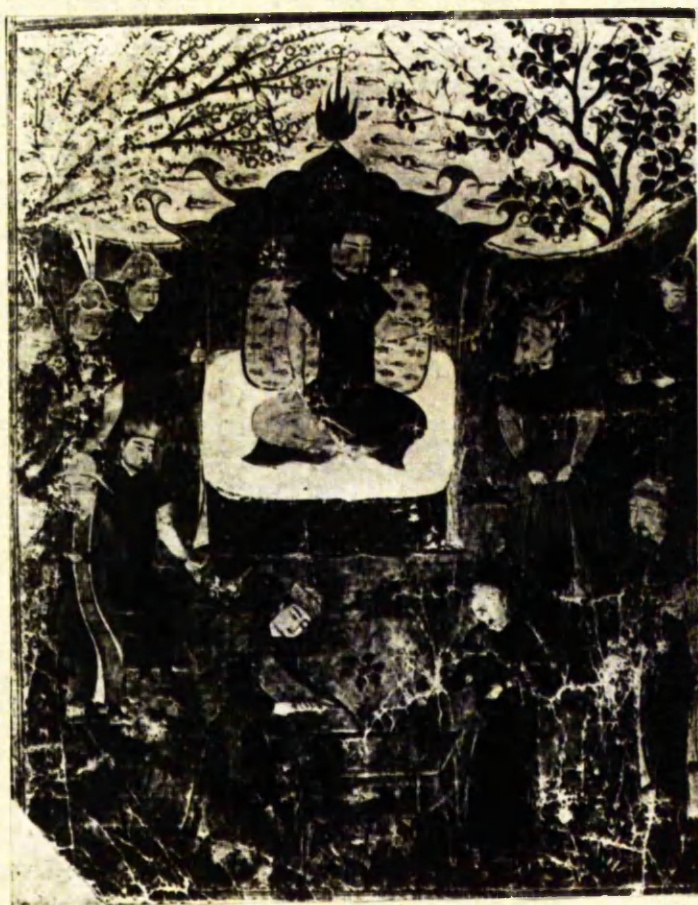
The tribes of the Northern and Southern Kings provided another source. Yü Ching says: "The troops which accompanied the barbarian (i.e. the Liao Emperor) were controlled by the Superintendant of the ordo who was appointed from among the most intimate members of the royal family. The soldiers were drawn from the subjects of the tribes of the Northern and the Southern Kings and those of the ten Palaces (ordo)."

All this suggests that the Liao rulers regarded the ordo troops as a private ~~army~~, developing naturally out of their regular tribal system, rather than as a shock battle unit as has been suggested.

The ordo, the camp, itself, was established during the lifetime of the Liao ruler in a definite place. It was for this reason that the compilers of the History designate it as the kung (palace) in distinction from hsing-ying (travelling camp -- the na-po) which constantly changed its location. After the death of the ruler on whose account the ordo was established; it was re-erected near his mausoleum. This seems to have been the forerunner of the Mongol ordo which was preserved intact after the death of the Mongol Khan.

The Liao History gives no description of the structure of the ordo. We reproduce here a medieval Persian painting of the interior of a Mongol ordo (fig. 4) and a photograph of a modern Mongol tent. (fig.5).

Fig. 4.



Chinghis in one of his ordo.
A Persian painting (in the
Bibliothèque Nationale)

128a

Fig. 5.

(A)



Mongol tent in course of construction

(B)

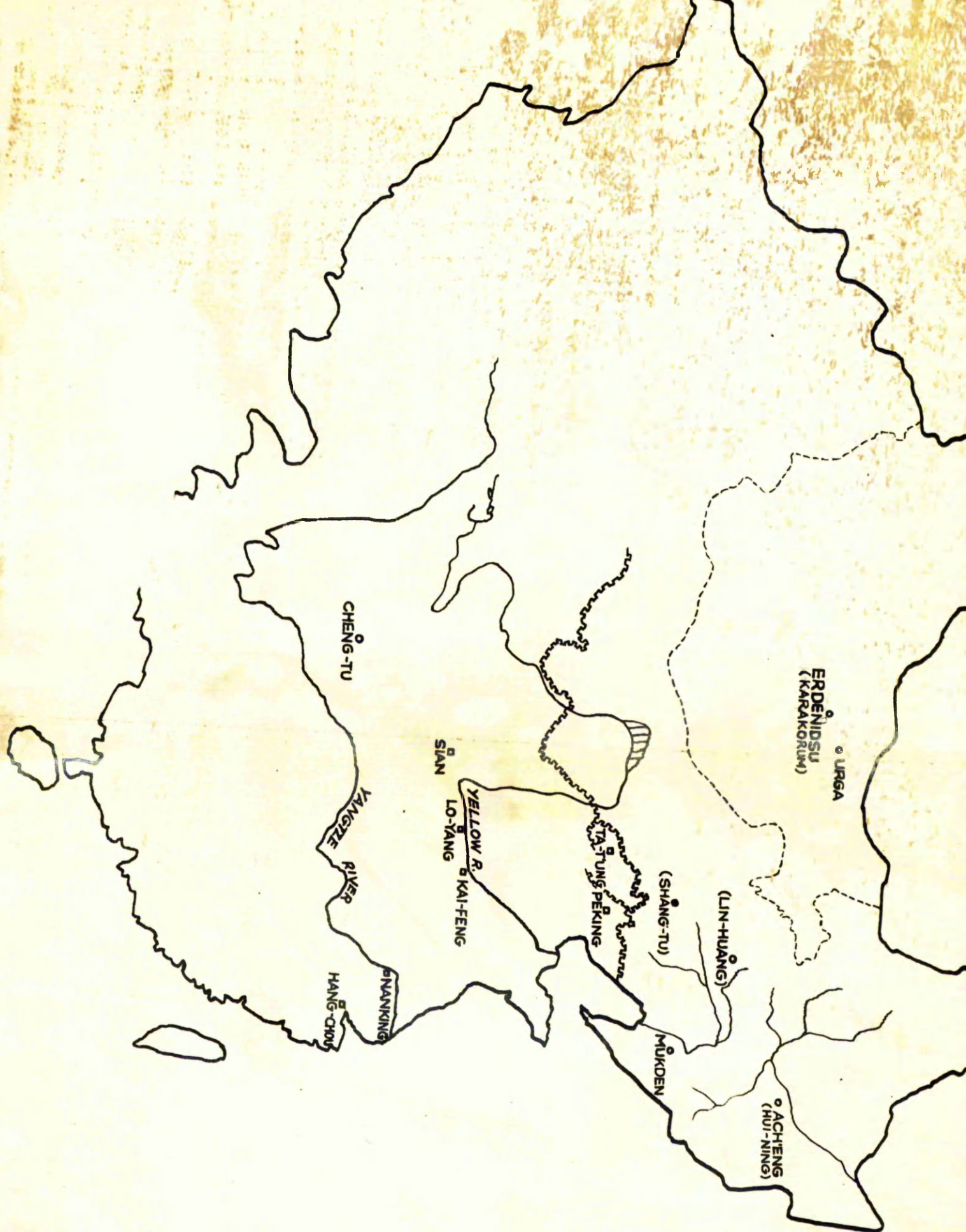


completed tent.

(From L. Forbath:
New Mongolia)

III. PEKING -- THE LINK BETWEEN THE CHINESE AND
THE NON-CHINESE WORLDS.

- (1) The part played by Peking in Chinese history.
- (2) The strategic value of the natural barrier to the north of Peking and its loss by China.
- (3) Peking after its cession to the Khitan.
- (4) "From Tribes to Empires" I.
The post-Liao Shu-mi-Yuan systems and the post-Liao Dual Administration.
- (5) "From Tribes to Empires" II.
The contributions made by Chinese intellectuals towards the foundation of dynasties in China by the nomads.



(I) The Part played by Peking in Chinese history.

Among the cities which have served as capitals of China, Ch'ang-an (Sian), Loyang and Peking are the most important. Ch'ang-an was the capital of the first half of the Chou (1122-771 B.C.), the Ch'in (256-207 B.C.), the Former Han (206 B.C.-24 A.D.), the Sui (581-618) and the T'ang (618-907). Loyang was the capital of the second half of the Chou (B.C.770-256), the Later Han (A.D.25-220), the Western Chin (265-316) and the Later T'ang (923-936). Peking was the capital of the Jurchen-Chin -- except during its beginning and closing years, -- 1153-1214, the Mongol-Yuan (1264-1368), the Ming (except during its early years) 1421-1644 and the Manchu-Ch'ing (1644-1911). There were other capitals of minor importance such as Nanking, Pien-liang (K'ai-fêng) and Hangchow. Nanking was the capital of the Wu of the Three Kingdoms (222-280), the Eastern Chin (317-420), the four Southern Dynasties (420-589), the early years of the Ming (1368-1420). K'ai-fêng was the capital of four of the Five Dynasties (Later Liang, 907-23, Later Chin, 936-46, Later Han, 947-50, Later Chou, 951-59), the Northern Sung (960-1126) and the closing years of the

Jurchen-Chin (1214-1234). Hangchow was the capital of the Southern Sung (1127-1279). We may pass over several other capitals of even less significance.

Geographically these capitals fall into two groups, those in the north, in the Yellow River plain, and those in the south in the Yangtze River valley. To the former group belong Ch'ang-an, Lo-yang, K'ai-fêng and Peking. To the latter, belong Nanking and Hangchow. It is striking that when the capital was in the north, the empire was nearly always united, but while it was in the south, the empire was nearly always divided. Liang Ch'i-ch'ao has calculated the number of years during which each of these cities served as capital. According to his calculation, Ch'ang-an had 970 years, Lo-yang 845 years, K'ai-fêng 205 years, Peking 718 years and Nanking 366 years. Liang has further added: "The period during which the capital remained in the north while no other capital existed in the south amounts to nearly 2000 years. The period during which the capital remained in the south while no other

(1) Liang Ch'i-ch'ao 梁啟超 : On the Political Geography of China", which serves as an appendix to his Biography of Ku Yen-wu.

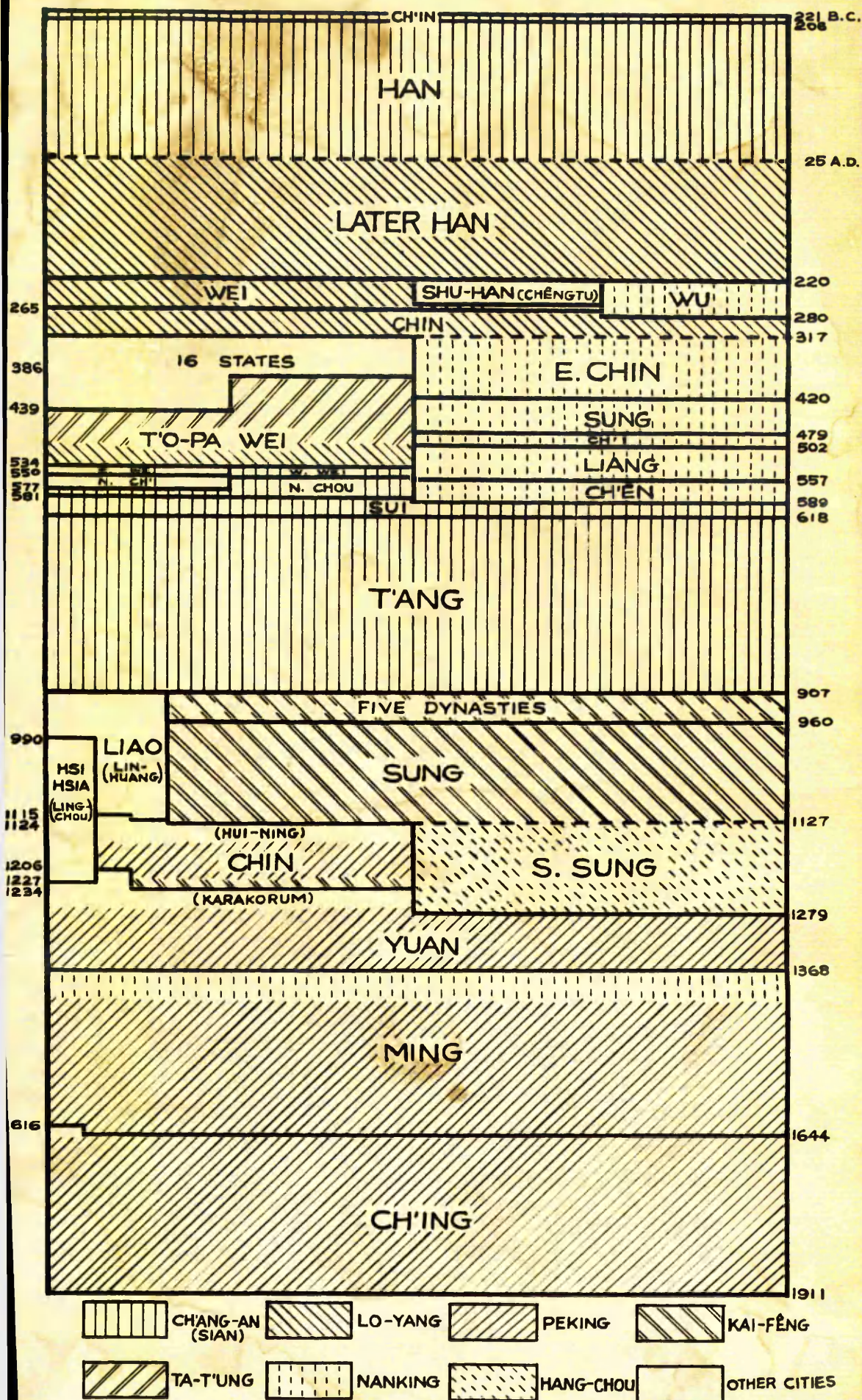
capital existed in the north amounts merely to 35 years"⁽¹⁾
(i.e. the early years of the Ming.)(See Plan, Map and
Diagram I. In that Diagram I omitted the Chou period
and started from the unified Ch'in. The total years of
Ch'ang-an, Lo-yang and Peking are 619, 333 and 718
respectively.)

(1) Liang Ch'i-ch'ao has failed to take into consideration
the early part of the reign of Yung-lo.

Year	Plan.	Dynasty	Capital
1122- 771 B.C.		Chou (W.)	Ch'ang-an(Sian)
770- 256 B.C.		Chou (E.)	Lo-yang
256- 207 B.C.		Ch'in	Ch'ang-an
206B.C.-24 A.D.		Han (Former)	Ch'ang-an
25- 220		Han (Later)	Lo-yang
220 - 280		Three Kingdoms	
	220-265	Wei	Lo-yang
	221-263	Shu	Ch'êng-tu
	222-280	Wu	Nanking
265-316		Chin (W.)	Lo-yang
317-420		Chin (E.)	Nanking
420-589		The Southern & Northern Dynasties	
		(a) The Southern Dynasties	
	420-479	Sung	Nanking
	479-502	Ch'i	Nanking
	502-557	Liang	Nanking
	557-589	Ch'ên	Nanking
		(b) The Northern Dynasties	
	386-493	T'o-pa Wei	Ta-t'ung
	494-534	T'o-pa Wei	Lo-yang
	534-550	Eastern Wei	Yeh
	550-577	Northern Ch'i	Yeh
	535-557	Western Wei	Ch'ang-an
	557-581	Northern Chou	Ch'ang-an
581- 618		Sui	Ch'ang-an
618- 907		T'ang	Ch'ang-an
907- 959		Five Dynasties	
	907-923	Later Liang	K'ai-fêng
	923-936	Later T'ang	Lo-yang
	936-946	Later Chin	K'ai-fêng
	947-950	Later Han	K'ai-fêng
	951-959	Later Chou	K'ai-fêng
960-1126		Sung (N.)	K'ai-fêng
	907-1125	Khitan-Liao	Ling-huang
1127-1279		Sung (S.)	Hangchou
	1115-1153	Jurchen-Chin	Hui-ning (A-ch'êng)
	1153-1214	Jurchen-Chin	Peking
	1215-1234	Jurchen-Chin	K'ai-fêng
	1206-1160	Mongol-Yuan	Karakorum (Erdenidsu)
			(Contd.)

Plan (Contd.)

Year	Dynasty	Capital
1264-1368	Mongol-Yuan	Peking
1368-1420	Ming	Nanking
1421-1644	Ming	Peking
1616-1644	Manchu-Ch'ing	Mukden
1644-1911	Manchu-Ch'ing	Peking



Among the northern capitals, Ch'ang-an and Lo-yang may be regarded as one sub-division (in which may be included K'ai-fêng) and Peking as another. Up to the beginning of the 12th century, the capitals of unified China were almost confined to cities of the Ch'ang-an-Lo-yang division -- with Ch'ang-an representing periods of power and glory and Lo-yang representing periods of decadence. Although Peking had been an important frontier city, it was not until the second half of the 13th century that it actually took the place formerly held by Ch'ang-an.⁽¹⁾

It has been generally held by the Chinese that Peking was a key point from which China dominated the barbarians north of the Great Wall. It is true that, historically, Peking was an important place commanding the garrisons against the northern nomads and it served as the capital of the Ming dynasty -- from its third emperor Yung-lo

(1) The geographical positions of Ch'ang-an and Lo-yang as well as the significance of the shift eastwards of the seat of the political power of China have been dealt with by Prof. Toynbee in his discussion of the "Marches and Interior" as one of the aspects of the stimulus to pressure with which he proves his principle of challenge-and-response. (Cf. A. J. Toynbee, A Study of History, Vol.II, p.118-20).

onwards. Yung-lo was one of the sons of the founder of the Ming dynasty and was originally the Prince enfeifed at Yen, or Peking. As the second Ming emperor tried to reduce the power of the princes in the various parts of the empire, Yung-lo rebelled. He defeated the imperial army and made himself the third Ming emperor (1403-1425). He first ruled in Nanking as his two predecessors had done. Afterwards he moved to Peking (1421). Before his removal, he ordered (1416) his officials to discuss the matter. Their report shows the opinion about Peking at that time.

"Peking is the place from which Your Majesty arose.

To the north it lies against the Chü-yung Kuan Pass

居庸關 ; to the west faces the T'ai-hang Mountain

Range 太行山 ; in the east connects with the Shan-

hai Kuan 山海關 ; and in the south overlooks the

Central Plain. (Around it) stretch a thousand li

of fertile land. The strategic positions that are

offered by the surrounding mountains and rivers enable

it to dominate the barbarians on all sides and control

the whole Empire. It is an ideal capital city for

emperors throughout all ages."⁽¹⁾

⁽¹⁾ Ch'ên Ho: 陳鶴: Ming Chi,

Ch.9, 21a.

The domination of the barbarians was certainly an important factor accounting for the removal. In fact, before he moved to Peking, Yung-lo had often resided there and carried out two important expeditions against the Mongol tribes (1409, 1414). After the removal, three times again (in 1422, 1423 and 1424) he led his army deep into the Desert. He reached as far north as the Onon River and the Hu-lun Lake.

Nevertheless, prior to the Ming, Peking had served as one of the five capitals of the Liao, and as the chief capital of both the Chin and the Yuan. After the Ming, it was again chosen as capital by the Ch'ing. All these were dynasties founded by non-Chinese. Viewing from outside the Great Wall, the non-Chinese peoples also found Peking an ideal place to control China. We still remember the occasion on which Pa-tu-lu, whose father Mu-hua-li commanded the Mongol army to conquer China and who himself took part in a number of campaigns against China, suggested to Khubilai that he should choose Peking as his capital:

"The region about Peking is something like a 'coiled dragon' or a 'squatting tiger': It is so strategically situated that to the south it dominates the Kiang

(Yangtze) and the Huai (River) and to the north it offers easy access to the Northern Desert. Moreover, the emperor should reside in a central place to receive the homage of his vassals from every corner of the Empire. If Your Highness really wishes to exercise control of the whole empire, I can think of no city which it would be more suitable for you to live in than Peking."⁽¹⁾

This suggestion was made while Khubilai was still a prince, but had been entrusted by Mangu Khan with the administration of the Regions south of the Desert, chiefly China. Obviously Peking was an equally convenient point for the non-Chinese to rule the Chinese. I do not know whether those who have held the opinion that Peking was the key for dominating the barbarians have omitted to take into account the periods during which Peking served those non-Chinese dynasties, or whether they have counted the non-Chinese dynasties, in this connection, as Chinese. In recent years a few modern Chinese historians have begun to realize that instead of being the capital which

(1) Yuan Shih, ch.119,8a.

dominated the barbarians, Peking was the city through which the barbarians controlled the Chinese. Nevertheless, the traditional misconception is still widely held in China.

For western scholars, however, who have the advantage of not being influenced by the traditional Chinese point of view, the situation has been easier to appreciate. Prof. Toynbee has rightly commented:

"When the Kin (Chin) had conquered Northern China, they had established their capital on the site of the modern Peking on the borderline between the barbarian portion of their dominions to the north of the Great Wall and the Chinese portion to the south of it. The same site commended itself, for the same geographical reason, to Qubilay (Khubilai); and in his reign Peking became the capital not merely of a re-united China, but of a universal state which extended from the Pacific coasts of Asia right across the continent as far as the Persian Gulf and the Euphrates and the Carpathians and the Baltic and thus embraced the whole circumference of the Eurasian Steppe." (1)

(1) Toynbee, op.cit., Vol.II, p.121.

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To one who has not been there, it is perhaps difficult to imagine the striking contrast between the "barbarian" and Chinese portions of the Chinese world defined by the Great Wall which lies just to the north of the city of Peking. We have previously quoted the Yuan scholars' view of the contrast between these two portions of China (p.2). Here are the remarks on the same subject by a modern European traveller.

"From the top of one of these towers (on the Great Wall), standing at an elevation of 5400 feet above the level of the sea, there is a magnificent and characteristic view Towards the north the eye ranges over a prairie with long wavy undulations, the first of the grass-covered Mongolian steppes. On the fixed natural line of demarcation between a settled agricultural people and nomadic tribes, from a region of lime-stone, coal-measures and granite, one of the tertiary and recent volcanic deposits, we were passing from the fertile, well-wooded valleys of Northern Chihli, rich in corn and fruit, to a "land of grass", the support of innumerable flocks and herds, where no tree is visible in a week's

journey, and "argol", the dung of cattle, is the only fuel.

"There is a corresponding difference in climate, and a cold biting north-west wind reminded us feelingly of the wide variation of temperature a few hours' journey had brought about." (1)

In addition to the contrast that is offered by nature, Chinese statesmen contributed to make the division still sharper. The building of the Great Wall as a bar against the northern nomads is a fact that has been commonly known. Modern scholars, however, have realized that it served also as a border to limit the activities of the Chinese. After having made a journey all along the Wall, W. E. Geil asks:

"Was the Wall, then, simply erected to define the Chinese Holy Land, so that all within it should be blossoms of the Flowery Kingdom, while beyond were

(1)

Bushell: A Journey outside of the Great Wall, p.153. The section of the Wall which Bushell describes here is north of Kalgan. In the Chin and Yuan dynasties, while visiting their summer retreats in Chin-lien Ch'uan or Shangtu, the Chin and Yuan rulers usually took the same route. A number of Yuan writers who followed the Yuan emperors to Shangtu received the same impressions as Bushell had experienced. They also

mere weeds and thistles of the wilderness? It is awkward to have no limit, to see a gradual shading off of town into country, of useful land into desert, of kingdom into kingdom. Perhaps this Wall was just put up as a clear definition where China ended, as Nature gave no hint in this direction Was the Wall just to show where the desert was to be left behind, with desert manners, while civilization was to begin?

That is, viewing it from the north, looking at the hint it gave to the barbarians outside. But walls have two sides, and the Wall may be a boundary to remind the Chinese of his privileges and to promote his patriotism. 'Within this ring is your home, the abode of art and learning: beyond is the outer darkness with which no son of the Flowery Kingdom has aught to do.' Was that the suggestion of the Wall?"⁽¹⁾

After his keen analysis of the nature of the Chinese and the Steppe Societies, Dr. Owen Lattimore, referring

Continuation of note on previous page:

noticed the wide variation of temperature that was brought about in a few hours' journey.

(1) W. E. Geil: The Great Wall of China, pp.206-7.

to the origins of the Wall, concludes: "The Great Wall may therefore be described as an effort on the part of the state to fix this Frontier⁽¹⁾ and to limit the proper field of Chinese activity as well as to exclude the peoples of the steppe."⁽²⁾

Thus, by nature, the portions to the north and the south of the Great Wall of China are different and this difference has been emphasized by artificial means.

Peking was not precisely "on the borderline" between these two portions. It fell within the threshold of the Chinese domain. The importance to the Chinese of holding Peking was not merely the control of a single city, but success or failure in maintaining the traditional Chinese policy of separating their agricultural society from the northern nomads. In one sense, as the loss by China of the trade ports was to modern industrialized powers,

(1) By this he means the border on the margin terrain between the true steppe and the true Chinese environments, "determined by a complex balance of cultural, economic, social and military factors which Chinese individuals and communities could not cross without passing beyond the influence of China and becoming influenced by the steppe." (O. Lattimore: Inner Asian Frontiers of China, p.470.)

(2) O.Lattimore, op.cit., p.470-71.

so was the loss of Peking to the northern nomads.

Before proceeding to further discussions of the history of Peking, it is necessary to know the strategic value of the belt of mountain ranges which runs from east to west to the north of that city. It was because of the existence of this barrier that the part played by Peking was important.

- (II) The strategic value of the natural barrier to the north of Peking and its loss by China.

Peking itself stands on the northern edge of the great North China Plain which is separated on the north-west from the Inner Mongolian Plateau by the Chün-tu 軍都山 Mountain Range, on the north from the Jehol mountainous region by the Wu-lung 五龍山 Mountain Range, on the north-east and the east from Jehol and the Liao River valley by the Yen-shan 燕山 Mountain Range. It was on the ridge of these continuous ranges that this section of the Great Wall was built. To the outer world beyond the Wall, Peking was accessible only through a few "passes",

kuan 關 : The Chū-yung Kuan Pass 居庸關 to the north-west (about 20 miles from Peking), the Ku-pei K'ou Pass 古北口 to the north (about 70 miles), the Hsi-fêng K'ou Pass 喜峯口 to the north-east (about 120 miles) and the Shan-hai Kuan Pass to the east (about 150 miles).

Although modern arms have minimized the value of natural defence, these Passes still have some military significance, as can be seen from the recent Sino-Japanese war. Throughout history it has offered an important natural barrier in this part of China against the non-Chinese peoples to the north.

Important as the barrier was, it was lost to China by oversight. It was included within the area of the 16 prefectures on the northern frontier which Shih Ching-t'ang ceded to the Khitan in return for the help (1) he received from them in establishing his dynasty.

Shih Chin-t'ang was a Sha-t'o Turk by birth. Naturally he was less concerned than were the Chinese with the consequences of the cession of this barrier to a foreign nation.

Although I do not share entirely Ch'ên T'ing's opinion (see below) that all the subsequent Jurchen and Mongol invasions were due to the cession of this belt of land, it is highly probable that, in view of the character of the Liao emperors--who were never interested in ruling directly their Chinese subjects--if the sixteen prefectures had not been ceded to them, they would not have crossed the Great Wall to seize them by force. I doubt in that case whether "Cathay" would ever have been used as an

(1) See pp. 85-86.

alternative expression to denote China⁽¹⁾.

With the cession of the sixteen prefectures, however, China was deprived of her natural northern barrier. Thus, the Khitan shared control of the great North China Plain with the successive contemporary Chinese dynasties which had their capital in Pien-liang, just to the south of the Yellow River. Between Peking and the north bank of the River, there existed no reliable natural defence.⁽²⁾

(1) The Liao History makes available the figures, in terms of militia registers, of the sedentary portion of the population of the Liao state. The numbers of the militia registers of two of the three old ^(Liao, the major administrative units) Circuits, the Supreme and the Eastern Capital Circuits, were 167,200 and 41,400 respectively. These include both the Chinese and the Pohai. No data are available for the third of the three old Circuits, the Central Capital Circuit. The numbers of the militia registers of the two new Circuits, the Southern and the Western Capital Circuits (both were established with the 16 prefectures gained from Shih Ching-t'ang) were 566,000 and 322,700 respectively. These were purely Chinese. (LS, 36, 1a-9b).

These figures show that the annexation of the 16 prefectures at least tripled the Chinese subjects who were under the Liao rule.

(2) The T'ang chose Ch'ang-an as its Western, and principal, capital and Lo-yang its eastern, and secondary, capital. Owing to the gradual deterioration of the economic conditions of the areas around Ch'ang-an, and the increasing importance of the part played by the Yangtze River valley in the nation's economic life, in the later part of the first half of the T'ang dynasty, whenever the harvest was bad the T'ang emperors, being unable to find enough supply near at hand to sustain their court at Ch'ang-an, frequently temporarily moved to Lo-yang in order to "seek for food

The effort made by the Sung authorities to recover this belt and the measures that they undertook -- after this attempt had proved a failure -- to construct some artificial barriers against the Khitan horsemen, serve to show how important this belt was to the safety of China.

Continuation of note on previous page:

in the Eastern Capital."

Lo-yang had the advantage of easier access to the western end of the Grand Canal, Pien Ho, or Pien River, built by the emperor Yang of the Sui dynasty to link up the Lower Yangtze with the central plain. In the later half of the T'ang, it was actually on the wealth of the Lower Yangtze that the T'ang government relied. As the Pien River became the vital line of communication to the central government, the position of Pien (or Pien-liang), situated near the junction of the Canal and the Yellow River, had become increasingly important. The Later Liang (907-923), the first one of the Five Dynasties, which replaced the T'ang, first raised Pien-liang to honour, making it their principal capital, and giving it the name of "Eastern Capital", while Lo-yang became the "Western" and secondary capital. Thereafter, Ch'ang-an ceased to have the status of capital.

The Later T'ang (923-36) which replaced the Later Liang, made Lo-yang the principal capital and Pien-liang the secondary. The Later T'ang was in turn replaced by the Later Chin (936-46) which once again reversed the relative status of Pien-liang and Lo-yang.

From the Chin, throughout the Later Han (947-950) and the Later Chou (951-60), the last two of the Five Dynasties, until the end of the Northern Sung (960-1127), Pien-liang was China's principal capital.

The first Sung emperor realized the military defects of Pien-liang and had the intention of moving to Lo-yang. His policy of centralization which led him to keep the largest part of the army in the capital (it was said to have amounted to 800,000 soldiers) made it impossible to carry out such a plan.

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The first Sung emperor died in 976 before he had fully accomplished his task of bringing about the re-unification of the empire which had remained in fragments since the collapse of the T'ang (906). In the south some petty states still remained in Che-kiang and Fukien, and in the north the Northern Han held its court in the area of Shansi. It was not until 979, that Chao Kuang-i, the second Sung emperor, led his army to T'ai-yuan, the capital of the Northern Han, which was the last state to be conquered. After a short seige, Northern Han surrendered (in the fifth moon of that year).

Nearly the whole of the empire, the traditional Chinese world, was now united, with only one of the corners missing -- the region of the 16 prefectures. Chao Kuang-i immediately diverted his army from T'ai-yuan to Peking. After some minor victories he reached (in the sixth moon) the southern suburb of Peking. In the battle of Kao-liang River 高粱河 (in the seventh moon), the Sung army was routed.

In spite of this frustration, Chao-Kuang-i did not give up his intention. He continued to make every kind of

preparation and numerous minor engagements in the following years are recorded. In 983 he even made plans about what was to be done after the lost land had been recovered.

"(In 983) the Emperor said to the Chief Ministers:

'The four sides of Yu Chou (the city of Peking) are all flat land. There is no strategic position to be relied on, and it is difficult to defend. In the future, when we recover Yen and Chi (the regions around and to the east of Peking), we shall have only to post guards and build forts on a few of the important positions from the Ku-pei Kuo Pass down, and the barbarians southwards invasions will be ended.'"(1)

And, from his sorrowful comment on the action of Shih Chin-T'ang, one sees how eager was the emperor's wish to recover this piece of land.

"(In 985), the Emperor said to the Chief Ministers:

'I read in the history that Shin Ching-t'ang, in asking for assistance from the Khitan, served [the Khitan emperor] as if he were his father. Moreover he ceded land to them. Thus millions of [Chinese] subjects fell under the rule of barbarians The barbarians were avaricious. They could be enticed

(1) Li T'ao: op cit. ch XXIV.

by money. To cede land to them was a bad policy.

Whenever I think of this I cannot but feel grieved."⁽¹⁾

Accordingly, in 986, he made another serious attempt. He again failed. Early in the next year (986-7) he issued his Message of Condolence to his people. This brought an end to his ten year long effort to recover the lost land.

Chao Kuang-i died in 997. In 1004, in the reign of his son Chên-tsung, the long peaceful relationship between Sung and Liao was established.

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The recovery of the lost land proved to be impossible. But the repeated incursions of the Khitan horsemen rendered more obvious the vulnerability of the Sung northern frontier. The Sung rulers tried certain expensive, but rather ineffective, devices to serve as artificial barriers against the Khitan horsemen.

The northern frontier of Sung stretched from the eastern slope of the T'ai-hang Mountain range which divides

(1)

Li T'ao: op.cit. ch. XXVI.

the North China Plain and the Shansi highland, to the western shore of the China sea, near present Ta-ku-Bar, east of Tientsin. For more than 100 li at the western end the land was elevated and for the remaining over 300 li it was flat. In the eastern sector there were many rivers and large swamps -- to hundreds of li in circumference. (Even today, some of these swamps still remain.) The Sung authorities, making use of the rivers and swamps, constructed the "swamp-system", which was called the T'ang P'o 塘濰. This policy was suggested in 989 by Ho Ch'eng-chü, governor of the prefecture Hsiung-chou 雄州, the most important frontier city on the eastern sector. "If we divert the River I and allow its water to flow east to the sea, and in an area extending east to west for over 300 li and north and south for 50 to 70 li, we make use of the rises and swamps to construct dikes and dam up the water so as to convert it into military agricultural colony which will be able to bar the galloping enemy horsemen. Within a year or so, as soon as all the swamps south of the Passes⁽¹⁾ have been dammed up, we can

(1) The "passes" here refer to the Wa-ch'iao Kuan, I-tsin Kuan and Yü-k'ou Kuan on the northern frontier of the Sung territory.

sow them with rice. In the frontier prefectures and sub-prefectures, in the neighbourhood of the swamped area, we need only retain troops to garrison the cities, and need not trouble to dispatch soldiers to guard wide areas. Thus not only we exploit the natural resources to provision the border, but also set up strategic barriers to defend the frontier."⁽¹⁾

Ho Ch'êng-chü's policy was adopted and was maintained until the end of the Northern Sung dynasty⁽²⁾. A later document indicates that the swamps were constructed to such a depth that they were "neither passable by foot nor navigable by boat."

The Sung History⁽³⁾ gives the following figures about the dimensions of the swamps.

(1) Sung Shih, ch.273, 3b.

(2) While Ho Ch'êng-chü originally aimed at both setting up a strategic barrier and sowing rice to provision the border, it would seem that only the former aim was to any extent achieved. From the fact that the inhabitants of areas adjoining the swamps complained that the swamps encroached upon their land, we can see that the aim of planting rice was a failure. Apparently the swamps were too deep to allow the growing of rice.

(3) Sung Shih, 95, 4b. The figures given in parenthesis show data, differing from the Sung Shih, provided by the Wu-ching tsun-yao, (Ch.16A, 32b-35a,) a military handbook compiled under the auspices of the emperor Jên-tsung of Sung in 1040.

	Width (in <u>li</u>)	Length (in <u>li</u>)	Depth (in feet)
(1)	120	90-130	5
(2)	110 (120)	30-50	from over 10 down to 6 or 7
(3)	70	6-15	6 or 7
(4)	27	8	8 or 9 (6)
(5)	60	10-25 (15-25)	10 down to 6 (over 10 or 8,9)
(6)	70	30-45 (30-40)	13 down to 10 (over 10 down to 6, 7)
(7)	30	150	5-3 (over 10 down to 2,3.)
(8)	30 (20)	10 (10+)	5-3
(9)	10	10	5 down to 3

These swamps fell roughly within the area south of Tientsin north of Ch'ing Hsien 青縣 and east of Pao-ting 保定, in central Ho-pei.

The swamp system was applicable only to the eastern sector. On the western sector where the land was elevated other kinds of defence were devised. In 1033 Liu P'ing suggested building "square-fields". "Along each field-wall dig ditches ten feet wide and twenty feet deep, intersecting like the scales of a fish. Between each two ditches, have a narrow zigzag path to allow the passage of foot-soldiers only. Then divert the rivers near-by into the

ditchworks. If the land is too high, then use the water-wheels to raise the water".⁽¹⁾

Apart from the swamps system and square-fields measure, there were also other suggestions such as the planting of elms, willows, mulberry and date to form an artificial forest, or the making of thousands of chariots to form a barricade against galloping Khitan horsemen. The latter measures, however, seemed never to have been put into practice.

(1)

Sung Shih, ch.95, 5b.

(III) Peking after its cession to the Khitan.

When the Khitan acquired the 16 prefectures they made one of them, Peking (known under the Liao as Yen-ching), the Southern Capital, and, at the later date, they made another, Ta-t'ung, the Western Capital. Along with three original capitals outside the Great Wall, the Liao Empire had five capitals, which conjointly served as centres for the government of their sedentary Chinese and Pohai population. Although the Supreme Capital, Lin-huang Fu 臨潢府 on the bank of the upper reaches of the Sira-muren in the heart of the Khitan world was officially the principal capital, Peking was economically and culturally more important.

In 943, with Peking as his base, the second Liao emperor, Yeh-lü Tê-kuang, carried out his campaign against the Chin (see above, p.88). He crossed the Yellow River, besieged Pien-liang (946), captured the Chin emperor and carried him off to the interior of Khitan territory.

The period of hostilities between the Liao and the Sung ended with a peace treaty between those two countries which was concluded in 1004. Thereafter a peaceful

relationship was maintained for over one hundred years (1004-1115. See above, p. 17).

In 1114, the Jurchen chieftain Aguta revolted against the Liao rule. Realizing that the Liao were going to lose the war the Sung revived their desire of regaining the lost land. They allied themselves with the Jurchen (1120) and carried on several campaigns (1122) against the Liao -- but all of these failed. When the Jurchen had completely destroyed the Liao, after long and hard bargaining, the Sung succeeded in getting back from them part of the lost land, the prefectures which were to the east of the T'ai-hang Mountain range that divides present Hopei and Shansi. Peking was included in the regions returned. This land was returned in the 4th moon of 1123. Two and a half years later, however, in the 12th moon of 1125, the *Jurchin* recaptured it.

In 1127, the Jurchen troops pushed southwards from Peking and Ta-t'ung. They entered K'ai-fêng and carried off the last two Northern Sung emperors.

Like the Liao the Chin first made Peking their Southern Capital. In 1153, the fourth Chin emperor, Hai-ning, moved his capital from Hui-ning to Peking and gave it

the name of Chung-tu 中都, the Central Capital. It remained the capital of Chin until 1214 when they moved to K'ai-fêng, the former Sung capital, under the threat of Mongol invasion. In 1215 Chinghis took Peking.

From 1215-1260, Peking served the Mongols as their base for operations against northern China. In 1260, Khubilai ascended the throne in K'ai-p'ing. The same winter he came south of the Great Wall and resided in Peking. From that year (1260) onwards he divided his time in the year between these two capitals (cf. above, p. 17).

Although Shangtu remained the "Supreme Capital" throughout the Yuan dynasty, it was the "Grand Capital" (Ta-tu, Peking) which was the actual capital "not merely of the re-united China, but of a universal state which embraced the whole of the Eurasian steppe."

In 1267, the last Sung emperor in Hangchou surrendered to the Yuan army. He was carried off via Peking to Shangtu where he was ordered by Khubilai to become a monk and sent further into the interior of Mongolia.

Peking remained the capital of the Yuan until 1368, when they were driven out by Hung-wu, the founder of the Ming dynasty.

Therefore, from its cession by Shih Ching-t'ang to the Khitan in 937 down to 1368 when it was retaken by the Ming, the land around Peking was in the hands of Chinese for only two and a half years. For the rest of this period it had been used successively first by the Khitan and the Jurchen to control a part of China and finally by the Mongols to dominate the whole of the Chinese world.

For the next five and a half centuries (1368-1911), Peking was equally shared between the Chinese (Ming, 1368-1644) and the Manchus (Ch'ing, 1644-1911).

Ch'ên T'ing 陳霆 was a Ming scholar who was born in Che-Kiang and flourished in the second half of the 15th century. He was for one period the supervisor of education for the province of Shansi. His knowledge of frontier history was probably obtained while he held this office. Like most Chinese scholars he showed strong prejudice against the non-Chinese peoples. But unlike most of them, he took the trouble to think about non-Chinese matters. His opinion about the function of the Great Wall in Chinese history is of particular interest. He traced

the origin of all the Khitan, Jurchen and Mongol invasions of China to the cession of the 16 prefectures. He compared this period with the period during which North China was under control of the Five-Barbarian States and the T'o-pa Wei⁽¹⁾ and its successors (304-581). He traced the origin of the triumph of the non-Chinese peoples in that period to the acceptance of the Han emperor, in the middle part of the first century after Christ, of the surrender of the Hsiung-nu tribes and the permission which he gave them to settle down within the Chinese realm. He saw an analogy in the development of these two periods. Each started with mismanagement on the part of the Chinese authorities in letting non-Chinese into the Chinese world, and each resulted in the occupation of part or the whole of China by the non-Chinese.

The importance of his view, to my mind, is that he was able to appreciate the difference between the societies within and without the Great Wall and the fundamental

(1) In the case of the T'o-pa Wei, Ta-t'ung played the same role as did Peking in the Liao, Chin, Yuan dynasties.

dangers that might ensue if one were allowed to settle on the soil of the other. In his opinion, as one can deduce from his essay translated below, had these non-Chinese peoples been kept out of China, they would have remained largely ignorant of the nature and importance of the Chinese world and of how to deal with Chinese affairs. In this respect he foreshadows to a certain extent the opinions held by modern students of frontier history of China.

"The Shih Huang-ti of the Ch'in built the Great Wall to keep out the barbarians. Although it put an onerous burden on the people at the time, yet the Wall was subsequently used throughout the ages to separate the Chinese from the barbarians and to distinguish native from foreign. It is therefore a work which should not be totally condemned.

"After the adoption by the Han dynasty of the policy of marriage alliance, later Hsiung-nu chieftains usually requested the same favour. Henceforth, the ugly creatures of barbarian race considered that they had the relation of brotherhood or of son-in-law to the Han emperor. A number of chieftains fought

among themselves for the right of succession. One of them, finding himself in difficulties, came and paid homage at the Han court⁽¹⁾. When Jih-chu took refuge in Han, the Northern Hsiung-nu moved farther north. The Han court, instead of taking this opportunity to annihilate them, entrusted them with the garrisoning of the frontier and allowed them to live in the northern territory where they were able to raise their families and become domiciled.

"After the fall of the Han, the Three Kingdoms contended for supremacy. One can imagine that these barbarians had long coveted power. The Chin dynasty was powerless and could neither control them nor remove them [from Chinese territory]. The rebellion of the Five-Barbarian Tribes ensued⁽²⁾. Encouraged by the success of their fellows, the T'o-pa, a tribe from beyond the frontier, conquered the Central Domain.

(1) By this he meant the surrender of the Hu-han-yeh Shanyü to the Han in 56 B.C.

(2) Traditional Chinese histories considered the rebellions of the Five-Barbarian Tribes as foreign invasions. Prof. Ch'en Yin-koh has rightly pointed out that they should be regarded as civil wars.

The land of China's ancient kings thus fell into the hands of barbarians for more than one hundred years. Nevertheless, the legitimate line of succession was still carried on on the left (southern) bank of the Yangtze River. So we can say that China had not been completely lost.

"Fortunately, under the Sui and T'ang dynasties, China was once again unified. Shih Ching-t'ang, in his desire to seize the throne, not only gave the strategic positions of China to the barbarians by ceding the district of Yu and Chi to the Khitan, but also acknowledged himself a vassal and paid tribute. He accepted enthronement from the Khitan and sent them memorials -- regardless of the established order by which China should stand above the barbarians as the head above the feet.

"When Shih Ching-t'ang invited Khitan to help him to the throne, he had already aroused the covetousness of the Khitan. Ch'u-ti [of the Chin] did not fulfil his duties as a sovereign, and improperly commenced hostilities. The Khitan troops pushed deep into China and the Chin could not check their

advance. After Chin was overturned the empire was in their grasp.

"Afterwards, in spite of his talents and bravery, T'ai-tsung of Sung was unable to recover the land of Yen and Yun. The South and the North co-existed for over one hundred years. Luckily the Liao dynasty collapsed, but the Chin rose in their stead. With the fall of the Chin, the Yuan dynasty followed. Throughout these periods, the obligations that the Chin was asked to execute by the Khitan such as the paying of tribute, the ceding of land, the acceptance of vassalage by China and the receiving of enthronement from barbarians were all demanded from the Sung in order to humiliate China.

"In the period of chih-yuan [Khubilai] put an end to the Sung, and inherited the line of succession. Thus he ruled over the whole empire. The traditional relationship [between China and the barbarians] was overturned. There was darkness over the earth. Dire calamity had overtaken the world and China had undergone a profound change. If one tries to look for the origin of this disaster, it will be found in

the cession of land by Shih Ching-t'ang. I have always held that for the building of the Great Wall, Shih Huang-ti of the Chin should be given the credit of warding off the barbarians in subsequent generations, whereas Shih Ching-t'ang's invitation to the Khitan was the greatest of all the crimes which were responsible for the barbarians' invasions of China throughout the ages⁽¹⁾.

(1) Ch'ên T'ing 陳霆: Liang-shan Mo-t'an, ch.8, p.70. This essay can be read in conjunction with Shang Lo's preface to the Supplementary edition of the T'ung-chien Kang-mu (see p.227) Both of them show strong influence of the cheng-t'ung theory.

(IV) "From Tribes to Empires" -- I.

The post-Liao Shu-mi Yuan systems and the
post-Liao Dual Administration.

So far we have concerned ourselves chiefly with the history of Peking from the point of view of the Chinese. Let us now turn to the other side of the Great Wall and try to view it from the standpoint of the nomads.

We have seen that the loss of Peking by the Chinese meant not merely the loss of a single city, but the defeat of the agricultural society by the nomads. Yet, if one views it from a different angle, this is only half true. It may also be said that the acquisition of Peking by the nomads marked the turning point of their tribal structure and the beginning of the long process of their compromise with or conquest by Chinese civilization.

Hitherto, although the nomad conquerors might have included in their state a large number of Chinese, they had been predominantly tribal. Hereafter the Chinese elements began to rival, or rather, to overwhelm, the tribal elements. At this stage of development came the introduction of the Shu-mi Yuan system which entrusted the administration of the overwhelming Chinese population

to an organization rivalling the continuing tribal system.

We have already followed the story of how Yeh-lü Tê-kuang and his successor, Shih-tsung, after acquiring Peking, created the Shu-mi Yuan system which was maintained throughout the Liao dynasty⁽¹⁾.

In the Chin dynasty, the Jurchen conquerors, after annexing the land south of the Great Wall, also introduced the Shu-mi Yuan system. But unlike its Liao counterpart, the Chin Shu-mi Yuan had only an ephemeral life. Its functions were subsequently taken over by the Jurchen rulers in person, who, being drawn into the sphere of the Chinese portion of their state, became now rulers of the "Chinese" dynasty and thus their historical task of founding a dynasty in China was completed.

In the Yuan dynasty, a similar course of development can also be noticed, though the term Shu-mi Yuan was never used in the same sense.

The annexation of Peking, therefore, from the point of view of those nomads who remained in the homeland -- though it marked their triumph over the Chinese -- meant

(1) See above, (pp. 84ff. & 102).

that their leaders began to be drawn away from them and into the sphere of the Chinese.

A brief survey of the evolution of the Chin and Yuan Shu-mi Yuan systems may help to explain this situation.

The Jurchen-Chin state originally consisted of a number of tribes, the chieftains of which were known as bei-chin, (the Manchu beile, prince). The officials in the Jurchen court were designated by various ranks of bei-chi-lieh (a variation of bei-chin). Aguta, the founder of the Chin dynasty, before ascending the throne, was known as the Tu Bei-chi-lieh; Wu-ch'i-mai, Aguta's successor, before his accession, was called Am-ban Bei-chi-lieh.⁽¹⁾

In times of war, the bei-chin chieftains were known as Meng-an and Mu-k'o -- according to the number of soldiers they had under them. Mêng-an (meaning a thousand in the Jurchen language) is the title for the head of a thousand, and mu-k'o (meaning a hundred) for the head of a hundred.

Later on, various tribes came to submit to the Jurchen rule. The Jurchen authorities bestowed on all their chieftains the titles Mêng-an or Mu-k'o in order to incorporate their people into the Jurchen state. The Chinese who surrendered were also reorganized in the

(1) Chin Shih, 55, 1a.

same way. On one occasion 65 Chinese families who surrendered under a Chinese general were reorganised into a Mu-k'o, and on another two groups of Chinese under two different leaders were combined to form a Mêng-an⁽¹⁾. (Later the mêng-an and mu-k'o became local administrative units, having the same meaning as tribes or sub-tribes.)

In 1122 Aguta conquered Peking. He began to employ the Chinese titles for the offices to which the surrendered Liao-Chinese officials were appointed. In the following year, 1123, in accordance with the Liao practice, the Chin ruler established a Shu-mi Yuan to control the Chinese. The official Chin History remarks:

"After the conquest of Yen-ching (Peking) T'ai-tsu began to use the Liao bureaucratic system which was characterized by division into Southern and Northern Regions. For this reason the activities of (the Chancellors) Liu Yen-tsung and Shih Li-ai⁽²⁾ were unknown to the court. Whenever military campaigns

(1) Chin Shih, ch.44, 1a-2b.

(2) Both Liu Yen-tsung and Shih Li-ai held the office of Chancellor, Shu-mi Shih, in the early years of the Chin dynasty. Further accounts of Yen-tsung can be found in the next section.

were over, they undertook the conduct of government business and the regulation of civil affairs. They attended to agriculture and the storing of grain to supply the capital and provide rations for the army. Such were their functions."⁽¹⁾

Perhaps nothing can better explain the actual relationship under the Shu-mi Yuan system between the Chancellors and the court, than the fact that the Chancellors' "activities were unknown to the court!"

The third Chin ruler, Hsi-tsung, substituted Chinese titles for his tribal nomenclature and made many important readjustments in his officialdom. The title Shu-mi Shih continued to be used but the power which was originally vested in that office had changed. Hereafter he became an office concerned merely with military affairs.

After this reorganization of the Chin officialdom the power originally exercised by the Shu-mi Yuan fell into the hands of the newly established Hsing-t'ai Shang-shu

(1) Chin Shih, ch.78, 6a. Compare this account of the early Chin officialdom with the careers of Han Ch'i-hsien given below. (p.188).

Shêng 行臺尚書省⁽¹⁾ which may be described as the "Office which carried out the Functions of the Department of Affairs of State". Before the Chin capital was transferred to Peking, it was this office which was responsible for the administration of the Chinese portion of the Chin Empire.

In 1153, the year in which the fourth Chin ruler, Hai-ning, transferred his capital from Hui-ning to Peking, the Hsing-t'ai Shang-shu Shêng was abolished. The Chin ruler was now drawn south of the Great Wall and himself undertook the direct control of the Chinese.

Although both the Shu-mi Yuan and the Hsing-t'ai Shang-shu Shêng controlled China on behalf of the Chin emperor, their natures differed considerably. While the Shu-mi Yuan was a quasi-independent organ, the Hsing-t'ai Shang-shu Shêng was an agency of the Chin central government. The change from Shu-mi Yuan to Hsing-t'ai Shang-shu Shêng meant therefore a remarkable step in bringing the Chinese portion of the Chin Empire under the

(1) This Office was first established in K'ai-fêng. Later it was moved to Peking.

Jurchen central government.

In the early years of the Mongol-Yuan dynasty, there existed the "Office Performing the Duties of the Grand Imperial Secretariat in such and such an area", the Hsing Chung-shu Shêng Shih 某某處行中書省事 Mu-hua-li, the Mongol Commander-in-Chief, controlled China in the capacity of "Performing the Duties of the Grand Imperial Secretariat-in-general in the area of Yün (Ta-t'ung) and Yen (Peking) 燕雲都行省 (1). This office had similar functions as the Hsing-t'ai Shang-shu Shêng in the China period.

Later, following the advance of the Mongol troops in China, more Hsing Chung-shu Shêng Shih were created--each sharing part of the power of the Chancellors (Shu-mu Shih) of the Liao times. Gradually the officials holding the Hsing Chung-shu Shêng Shih became the highest district governors and a contracted form of this title--hsing-shêng--was used to designate the area they controlled. The term now used for province, shêng, is an abbreviation of hsing-shêng.

(1) Yuan Shih, 119, 2b.

In the early days of their development, the Manchus first tried to incorporate the captured or surrendered Chinese into their tribal organization -- the Eight-Banners. A separate Chinese unit was thus found in each Manchu Banner.

After the Manchus had taken Sheng-yang (Mukden), the capital of the Chinese basin in Manchuria, they introduced the Chinese governmental system and established the Six Ministries. Here Sheng-yang took the part played by Peking in the development of the Jurchen and Mongol powers. Therefore, in 1644, after they had acquired Peking, the Manchus could immediately move there and take over the Ming machinery of government.

The end of the Shu-mi Yuan systems in the later years of the Chin, Yuan and Ch'ing dynasties, was not the end of the story of the dual administration of these conquerors and their conquered Chinese subjects.

After the Chin rulers had moved to Peking, they kept

(1) Cf. F. Michael: The Origin of Manchu Rule in China, 1942, p.76.

their Mêng-an and Mu-k'o organization. In order to safeguard themselves they moved most of their Mêng-an and Mu-k'o units into China proper. The Jurchen people thus settled down and lived side by side with the Chinese. Nevertheless, "they did not live in Chinese cities and towns. They built for themselves stockades alongside the Chinese villages."⁽¹⁾ They were governed by their own administration, independent of the Chinese local authorities. Needless to say, the Mêng-an and Mu-k'o which stayed behind in their homeland also retained their original organization.

In the Yuan dynasty, although the Mongol rulers came to the south of the Great Wall, the mass of the Mongol people remained in their homeland on the steppe. They continued to be governed according to the traditional tribal system.

The case of the Manchu Bannermen is very similar to that of the Mêng-an and Mu-k'o population of the Chin times. After the Manchus had ruled in Peking, they moved their Bannermen into China proper (just as the Mêng-an

(1) Yü-wên Mao-chao, op.cit., ch. 36, 3a,

and Mu-k'o had been moved into China proper by the Jurchen). The relationship between the Ch'ing-Chinese and the Manchu Bannermen can best be shown by the following quotation from the late Prof. Mêng Shên's important essay on the Eight-Banner system. Prof. Mêng says:

"Throughout the Ch'ing dynasty, [their rulers] considered themselves a nation of the Manchus who distinguished themselves by being Bannermen. The Manchu nation was in their view the heart of the Ch'ing Empire. There was not a Manchu who did not attach himself to one or other of the Eight Banners. It follows that the Ch'ing Empire contained a nation of the Eight Banners. In other words, the Ch'ing Empire embraced a Manchu state; Chinese and Manchus never intermingled."⁽¹⁾

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A comparison of the dual administration of the four dynasties, the Liao, Chin, Yuan and Ch'ing, provides another useful illustration of the difference between the nomads and the semi-nomads in regard to their reaction

(1) Mêng Shên: A Study of the Eight-Banner system
(Bull. of Inst. of Hist. & Phil., Ac. Sin. Vol.VI, No.3.)

to the Chinese culture and its consequences⁽¹⁾.

Both the Mêng-an and Mu-k'o population of the Jurchen, and the Bannermen of the Manchus, although kept under separate administration, settled down on the soil of China and quickly became sinicized. Therefore, after the collapse of both dynasties, we see at the same time the "extinction" of both peoples, who were absorbed into the Chinese⁽²⁾.

Both the Khitan and the Mongols remained in their homeland and continued to pursue their original way of life. After the fall of their dynasties in China, a member of the Khitan royal house was nevertheless able to found the Western Liao, Kara Khitai, in Central Asia,

(1) See p. 75.

(2) Dr. Owen Lattimore has pointed out that, under the non-Chinese dynasties, "garrisons of nomad troops might also be stationed in China, especially at first, and these rapidly became Chinese." (Lattimore, op. cit., p.54 f) In fact, throughout the Jurchen-Chin and Manchu-Ch'ing dynasties, under their national conscription system, the greater part of their population was engaged in garrison duty in China. The garrisons took their families with them. Thus, "the garrisons of nomad troops" under these dynasties were identical with the Jurchen and Manchu peoples themselves and they became sinicized as a result of their settlement on Chinese soil.

and also the last Yuan emperor, after having been driven from both his capitals in Ta-tu (Peking) and Shangtu⁽¹⁾, could succeed in founding the Northern Yuan dynasty to the north of the Great Desert.

(1) See above, p. 68 note.

(V) "From Tribes to Empires" --- II.

The Contributions made by Chinese intellectuals towards the foundation of dynasties in China by the nomads.

In the following pages, we shall try to give an account of the careers of a number of Chinese intellectuals (among whom are included men of Chinese culture who were not racially Chinese) who helped the nomads to found dynasties in China. While the occupation of Peking by these nomads may be regarded as the final stage in the development of their nomadic power, it was by winning the co-operation of these intellectuals that they were able, in some cases, to take Peking, and in others to hold it.

In the careers of these men one will see the difficulties that arose in the early phases of the contact between the nomad conquerors and the conquered Chinese, and the steps by which the conquerors gradually adapted themselves to the conditions of the conquered -- i.e. how a Chinese system of government was gradually set up alongside their original tribal organization. While the original way of life of these nomads lent them the military power which enabled them to win their campaigns against the Chinese,

it was the service contributed by these intellectuals that made possible their continued rule over the Chinese.

It was natural that those nomads who lived in the neighbourhood of China could more easily appreciate the importance of the co-operation of the Chinese and adapt themselves to the Chinese system of government. This is the reason why nearly all the non-Chinese dynasties originated from areas adjoining the boundary of China. Among the four non-Chinese dynasties which we have constantly mentioned, three -- the Liao, Chin and Ch'ing -- originated from these areas.

Here, in so far as the nature of these dynasties is concerned, our survey, which is based on historical accounts, has reached quite independently conclusions similar to those of Dr. Lattimore based mainly on economic investigations.

Dr. Lattimore distinguishes three types of societies in Chinese history: (1) the true Chinese -- the typical agricultural society, (2) the true steppe, the typical nomadic society and (3) the belt of marginal lands of mixed culture in between them. He points out that "the true Chinese might try to spread their power up to the

Inner Asian Frontier, but not beyond it, the true nomad might raid and plunder China, but they did not know how to occupy and rule it."⁽¹⁾ Only men of the border who knew the structure of power both in the steppe and in China were able to found nomad dynasties whose power overlapped both into the steppe and into China.⁽²⁾

It would seem that Dr. Lattimore's comment on the attitude of the true nomads towards China is also applicable to the nomads on his marginal belt in the early period of their power. During that period they knew little of things Chinese. The primary aim of their campaigns against China was merely plunder. They all first tried to incorporate the surrendered Chinese into their tribal pattern -- an attempt which they were subsequently compelled to abandon.

The Mongol-Yuan dynasty should be regarded as belonging to the true steppe group. Here we differ with Dr. Lattimore who maintains that the Mongols rose from the border of the steppe.⁽³⁾ In the success of the Mongol we see that

(1) O. Lattimore, op.cit., p.544.

(2) ibid, p.543.

(3) ibid, p.541.

true nomads could also found a dynasty in China, provided that they could appreciate the importance of the co-operation of the Chinese.

Although the nomads had already begun to try to adapt themselves to the Chinese system of government before they came across the Great Wall, it was not until after they had actually moved to Peking that they completed the process of founding a "Chinese" dynasty. The Liao never moved to Peking, it maintained the Shu-mi Yuan system throughout its existence, and, therefore, was never transformed into a proper "Chinese" dynasty. Before it moved to Peking the Chin, and also the Yuan and Ch'ing, were in a similar position to that of the Liao.

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The accounts given in the following pages of the careers of some of these intellectuals are based on their biography in the official histories of the dynasties concerned. For the convenience of readers, important ancient place names have been changed into modern ones.

(A) The Khitan-Liao period (906-1125)

First two rulers:

Apaoki (T'ai-tsu, 906-926)

Yeh-lu Te-kuang (T'ai-tsung, 926-947)

Capital: Lin-huang (in north-western Jehol)

Annexation of Peking: 936.

1) K'ang Mei-chi 康默記.

K'ang Mei-chi was a petty official in Chi-chou (east of Peking). When Apaoki attacked Chi-chou, Mei-chi was taken prisoner. Apaoki valued his ability and let him remain in his own unit. He entrusted him with the settlement of disputes between the Khitan and the Chinese. Mei-chi's decisions always met with the emperor's approval. As the various districts had only recently been brought under control, the laws were inadequate. Mei-chi interpreted the intention of the law and then always passed judgements which were appropriate to the cases. Even the convicts were satisfied with the fairness of his judgements. Soon he was appointed the Left Shang-shu 左尚書 .

When, in 918, the building of the capital was started, Mei-chi supervised the work. People all hurried to assist with this work, and in one hundred days it was accomplished. In 920 he was appointed the I-li-pi, the Grand Judge of the Capital.

When Apaoki led his southern campaign through the Chū-yung Kuang Pass, Mei-chi was ordered to lead the Chinese Corps to attack the water-fortress at Ch'ang-lu, where he took many captives. Mei-chi was among Apaoki's lieutenants in founding the dynasty.⁽¹⁾

2) Han Yen-hui 韓延徽

Han Yen-hui was a native of An-ts'u county of Yu-chou (Peking). His father successively held the office of the prefect of Chi, Ju and Shun prefectures. Yen-hui was brilliant as a young man. The governor of Yen (the regions around Peking), Liu Jên-kung, appointed him secretary of the governor's office. At a later date Liu Shou-kuang, son of Liu Jên-kung, and who succeeded his father as governor of Yen, sent him as envoy to the Khitan court. Apaoki detained him in anger at his unsubmitive manners. The Empress Shu-lü advised the emperor that Yen-hui's unyielding attitude was a proof that he was a good official and that he should not try to humiliate him. Apaoki summoned him for a discussion and was attracted by him. He instantly ordered him to work on the military staff. The success of the campaigns against Tang-hsiang, Shih-wei and a number of other tribes

(1) Liao Shih, 74, 1b.

was largely due to Yen-hui's planning.

Then Yen-hui suggested to Apaoki that walled cities should be built and markets and houses planned in order to resettle the Chinese who had surrendered. He further arranged for them to marry among themselves and had them taught how to cultivate the land in order to provide a means of subsistence. The result of his policy was that few of them ever tried to abscond.

After residing among the Khitan for some time, Yen-hui began to feel homesick. He composed a poem to express his emotion and returned to join the T'ang. Soon he got into trouble with a T'ang general. Fearing that he might get into difficulties, he went to see his mother in Peking where he took shelter in the home of one of his friends. His friend asked him where he intended to go. Yen-hui told him that he was going to return to Khitan. His friend expressed his doubts as to the wisdom of his decision. Yen-hui told him that Apaoki was as much lost without him as he would be if his hands were missing, and was therefore certain to be glad to see him again.

When he returned to Khitan Apaoki was delighted and

bestowed on him the nickname hsia-lieh, which means in the Khitan language "to come back again."

Yen-hui was one of Apaoki's lieutenants in founding his dynasty.⁽¹⁾

(B) The Jurchin-Chin period (1115-1234)

First four rulers:

Aguta (T'ai-tsu, 1115-1123)

Wu-ch'i-mai (T'ai-tsung, 1123-1134)

Hsi-tsung (1135-1148)

Hai-ning (1149-1161)

Original Capital: Hui-ning (east of Kirin,
Manchuria).

Annexation of Peking: 1125.

Removal of capital to Peking: 1153.

1) Liu Yen-tsung 劉彥宗

Liu Yen-tsung was a native of Wan-p'ing county of Ta-hsing (Peking). Members of six successive generations of the Liu family had served the Liao court as chief ministers. Yen-tsung passed his chin-shih examination with second class honours. After T'ien-tso, the last Liao emperor, had fled to T'ien-tê, his uncle Yeh-lü Ya-li, the Prince of Ch'in-chin, proclaimed himself emperor in

(1) Liao Shih, 74, 2a.

Peking and Yen-tsung was appointed the Liu-shou P'an-k'uan

留守判官 . During the regency of Empress Dowager Hsiao, who ruled in Peking after the death of Yeh-lü Ya-li, Yen-tsung was appointed Assistant Officer in the Chancellery (Shu-mi Yuan).

When Aguta reached Chu-yung Kuang Pass, the Empress Hsiao fled via the Ku-pei Kou Pass. The Liao army Inspector Kao Liu secretly offered his allegiance to Aguta, who then unexpectedly arrived at the southern suburb of Peking, and camped to the south of the city. Yen-tsung, with Tso Ch'i-kung and other high ranking Liao officials, presented a memorial asking to be allowed to surrender. As soon as Aguta saw Yen-tsung he was impressed by him. He permitted him to retain his original post. Soon Yen-tsung was appointed the Left P'u-i 左僕射.

While visiting the Yuan-yang Lake, Aguta fell ill and so he returned to the Supreme Capital (Hui-ning). He appointed the Jurchen general Tsung-han to command the army with Yen-tsung to assist him to conquer the Chinese portion of the Liao.

Later, Yen-tsung was promoted to Chief Minister

given control over affairs of the Chancellery (Shu-mi Yuan)⁽¹⁾ and granted the title of Shih-chung. Afterwards he was again appointed assistant to another Jurchen general, Tsung-wang. Tsung-wang suggested to the Chin emperor that as the campaign against the Sung was to be started, the administration of the prefectures and counties should be entrusted to Yen-tsung.

In 1125 the expedition against the Sung was started. Yen-tsung suggested ten measures. He was appointed to hold concurrently the office of Commander-in-Chief of the Chinese army.

After the surrender of Peking⁽²⁾ the Chin emperor invested Yen-tsung with the authority to appoint on his behalf all the officials from the first grade down.⁽³⁾

(1) In the early period of the Chin dynasty, as in the Liao time, those who held the office of Chancellor were responsible for affairs of state.

(2) The surrender here referred to was offered by the governor appointed by the Sung which held Peking for the short period from 1123 to 1125. See above p.157.

(3) Chin Shih, 78, 1 ff.

2) Han Ch'i-hsien 韓在先

Han Ch'i-hsien was a native of Peking. One of his ancestors, Chih-ku, nine generations earlier, had been Chief Minister (Chung-shu Ling) under the Liao dynasty. The family moved to Liu-Ch'êng ⁽¹⁾ and flourished there for many generations. In about 1115, Ch'i-hsien passed his chin-shih examination, but he did not immediately attain a high position.

When the Jurchen general Kao conquered the Central Capital (of Liao), Ch'i-hsien was promoted to a senior post in the Chancellery. Later he was transferred to the office of Commissioner in charge of transportation.

In 1128 Liu Yen-tsung died. Ch'i-hsien succeeded him as the Chief Minister (同中書門下平章事), in charge of the affairs of the Chancellery (Shu-mi Yuan).

After his conquest of Peking Aguta employed the Chinese titles for the chief ministership to which Tse Ch'i-kung and other surrendered Liao officials were appointed. Later a Grand Imperial Secretariat (Chung-shu

(1) Modern Lin-yuan in south-eastern Jehol.

Shêng 中書省) and a Chancellery (Shu-mi Yuan) were established in Kuang Ning⁽¹⁾ 廣寧. In his court, however, the Chief Minister still bore the Jurchen titles. No attempts were made towards the alteration of this situation in the early years of the reign of Wu-ch'i-mai. In 1124 both offices were moved to P'ing-chou 平州⁽²⁾, and in 1125 to Peking. All the functions in the Chinese territory such as the appointment of officials, the conscription of soldiers, and the levying of taxes, were performed by these offices acting in the emperor's name. From the time of Shih Li-ai, Liu Yen-tsung till that of Ch'i-hsien, the duties of the Chief Minister were similar.⁽³⁾

(C) The Mongol-Yuan period (1206-1368)

First five rulers:

Chinghis (T'ai-tsu, 1206-1227)
 Ogotai (T'ai-tsung, 1229-1241)
 Kuyuk (T'ing-tsung, 1246-1250)
 Mangu (Hsien-tsung, 1251-1259)
 Khubilai (Shih-tsu, 1260-1294)

(1) Modern Pei-chên 北鎮 in south-eastern corner of Manchuria, near Chin-chou.

(2) Modern Ch'ang-li 昌黎 to the west of Shanhaikuan.

(3) Chin Shih, 78, 5a.

Original Capital: Karakorum
 Annexation of Peking: 1215.
 Removal of Capital to Peking: 1261.

The Mongols emerged from the depth of the steppe. The contrast between their original way of life and the Chinese culture was sharper than one has seen in the examples in the Liao and Chin.

1) Yeh-lü Ch'u-ts'ai.

Yeh-lü Ch'u-ts'ai was a descendant in the eighth generation of the Prince Tung-tan of Liao⁽¹⁾. When he was three years of age his father died. His mother, Yang, taught him. When he grew up, he had a wide and good knowledge of classics as well as the works of various schools of philosophers. He understood also astronomy, geography, music, chronology, magical calculation, buddhist and Taoist teachings and medicine. He wrote so quickly that it was as if he had previously had the draft prepared. Under the Chin he first held an office in one of the Ministries. Later he was promoted to the prefect of Kao-chou. In 1214 the Chin emperor Hsuan-tsung moved from Peking to K'ai-fêng. Wan-yen Fu-hsing was entrusted

(1) Prince Tung-tan was the elder brother of the second Liao emperor Yeh-lü Tê-kuang.

with the defence of Peking. On Fu-hsing's recommendation Ch'u-ts'ai was appointed the Tso-yu-ssu Yuan-wai-lang, a high ministerial post.

After Chinghis had taken Peking, he heard of Ch'u-ts'ai's fame and summoned him for an interview. Chinghis was impressed by his loyalty to the Chin and ordered him to serve in his entourage.

Ch'u-ts'ai's predictions always came true. This won Chinghis' confidence in his knowledge. Once, pointing at Ch'u-ts'ai, Chinghis said to Ogotai: "This man is bestowed on our House by Heaven. You should in future entrust him with all kinds of affairs of state."

In 1226 Ch'u-ts'ai accompanied Chinghis when he took Ling-wu (Ning-hsia), the capital of Hsi-hsia. The generals all scrambled to seize slaves or gold and silver. Ch'u-ts'ai alone collected the abandoned books and rhubarb and other kinds of drugs. Later the soldiers suffered from pestilence which was cured by the rhubarb.

As Chinghis personally engaged in the campaigns against Central Asia, he found no time to set up rules for the government of China. The district governors could spare or kill according to their whims. They even enslaved

civilians' wives or daughters, seized their properties and annexed their lands. The governor in Peking was more covetous and cruel. He killed so many people that the corpses filled the market place.

Having heard of this, Ch'u-ts'ai wept and immediately memorialized Chinghis that he should curtail the power of the local governors. Unless instructed by the edicts bearing imperial seals, they should not levy taxes. Execution of criminals who were subject to the death penalty should be approved by the court. Those officials who disobeyed should suffer death.

In 1227 Chinghis died. In 1229 Ogotai came to the throne.

During Chinghis' reign, most of the officials in China amassed fortunes themselves, some amounting to hundreds of thousands, while the government's stores were empty. Pieh-tieh and others of Ogotai's entourage suggested that since the Chinese were of no help to the country it would be well to get rid of them and make the land into pasture. Ch'u-ts'ai said: "Your Majesty is about to begin the southern campaign. There should be some provision for supplying the armies. I believe that if we collect the taxes on land and on commodities, as well as the profits

on salt, wine and iron, and those from the mountains and lakes, then we can obtain annually 500,000 taels of silver, 80,000 rolls of silk, and over 400,000 shih of grain. This is enough to supply the armies. How can one say this is no help?" Ogotai said: "You shall attempt this on Our behalf." Ch'u-ts'ai then suggested that tax commissioners be appointed for Yenching (Peking) and nine other provinces (lu &). Only Confucian scholars were appointed as commissioners and deputies. Their staffs were composed of men from the government ministries and bureaux of the former government.

In the autumn of 1231, Ogotai reached Ta-t'ung. The ten provinces all submitted their granary accounts, and gold and silk were laid out in the courtyard. Ogotai, smiling, said to Ch'u-ts'ai: "Without leaving my side, you have provided for the national expenditure. Is there any minister at the Chin court as able as you?" Ch'u-ts'ai replied: "Those at the Chin court are all worthier than I. Because I have no ability, I was left in Peking and was thus enabled to serve your Majesty." Ogotai prized his modesty and offered him wine. The same day he was

appointed "Chief Minister " (Chung-shu Ling 中書令)⁽¹⁾.
All matters, whether important or not, had to be made known to him before reaching the emperor.

In 1236 all the Mongol princes came to pay their homage to Ogotai. Ogotai, holding a glass of wine, bestowed it on Ch'u-ts'ai and said: "That I whole-heartedly trust you to deal with state affairs is due to the late emperor's instruction. Without you, the situation in China would not be what it is. That I am able to rest peacefully in bed is due to your efforts."⁽²⁾

(1) If this account, given in the Yuan History, of the appointment of Yeh-lü Ch'u-ts'ai to the post of chief minister is compared with the contemporary reports of two Southern Sung envoys, it becomes even more apparent how primitive were the Mongol conquerors, even in Ogotai's time, and how dependent on the services of the scholar-administrators of the former regime. P'êng Ta-ya 彭大雅 who visited Ogotai's court in 1234 remarks: "The prisoners taken from various nations are styled "chief minister", "general", "minister", "governor" or whatever else they themselves choose to be called. There existed no such things as imperial edicts to sanction the appointment." Hsü T'ing 許霆 who visited Mongol in 1236 also remarks: "As for their office of Chief Minister - Yeh-lü Ch'u-ts'ai now holds it - it is styled by Ch'u-ts'ai himself as Chung-shu [Ling]. He is not appointed by the Tartar ruler." (For P'êng Ta-ya and Hsü T'ing, see Pelliot's article on Wang Kuo-wei in T'oung Pao, Vol.26, 1929, p. 167).

(2) Yuan Shih, 146, p.1 ff.

2) Lien Hsi-hsien 廉希憲

Lien Hsi-hsien was a Uighur. While Khubilai was a prince, Hsi-hsien served him in his princely office. Khubilai appreciated his manners and knowledge. Hsi-hsien was diligent in studying classics and histories. He was never without a book in his hands. One day while reading Mencius he was summoned by Khubilai. He carried the book in his bosom and presented it to Khubilai. Khubilai asked him what it was about. He explained to him the teachings of Mencius. Khubilai appreciated them very much and called him Lien Men-tzū (the Mencius named Lien).

After Khubilai came to the throne Hsi-hsien served him in various capacities.

In 1275 the Yu-ch'êng 右丞 Alihaiya captured Chiang-ling (central Hupeh), of which he made a map. He submitted this to the court, and requested the appointment of a high official to set up an administration. Khubilai urgently recalled Hsi-hsien and appointed him as the Commissioner of the "Office which carried out the function of the Department of Affairs of State" in the Ching-nan area of Southern Hupeh. He permitted him to sit, and told him: "We have acquired Ching-nan. We desire that

those who have recently surrendered should be made aware of Our grace, and that those who have not yet come over should incline towards us. When the Sung learn that our court has a minister like you, their hearts will be won over. The South is low and damp, and unhealthy for you, but now that I entrust you with this important work, I think you will not refuse." He also authorized Hsi-hsien to appoint on his behalf officials below the third rank.

In the heat of summer Hsi-hsien hastily set out. Arriving at the city he restored order and set trade in motion, promoted beneficial measures and removed abuses; both civilians and soldiers were calmed.

First of all he registered the capable members of the Sung staffs of the Hsuan-fu-ssü 宣撫司 (the office of the Commissioner in charge of district military affairs) and the Chih-chih-ssü 制置司 (the office of the Commissioner in charge of the district civil affairs) in order to provide advisors. From these he selected more than twenty men whom he employed according to their capacities. His followers were uneasy about this, but Hsi-hsien said: "Now they are all subjects of our nation, why be suspicious of them?"

After the main framework had been set up he said: "Education must not be delayed." Then he built a number of schools, selected teachers, bought copies of the classics and other books and himself daily visited the schools in order to encourage the students.

Afterwards different peoples from Ch'ungking and other places in the south-west, which was still under the Sung control, crossed the territory of the Mongol governor in his neighbourhood to offer surrender. This came to the ear of Khubilai, who said: "Our former rulers could not get territory without using weapons. Now Hsi-hsien is able to make people from hundreds of li away cross to his territory to offer their lands, this shows the success of his administration." (1)

(1) Yuan Shih, 126, 3a ff. It would be a mistake to trust too much in the accounts given in this passage and to assume that Khubilai had adopted Chinese governmental system in its entirety. The following memorial presented to Khubilai in 1265 by Hsü Hêng 許衡, a great contemporary scholar, throws light on the situation at the time:

"From a study of the history of previous dynasties, we see that unless the conquerors of China who came from the north adopted the Chinese governmental system, they could not survive for any length of time. That was why the T'o-pa Wei, the Liao and the Chin dynasties lasted longest. Those which did not adopt this measure fell one after the other. This is recorded in the histories for all to see. If our nation inhabited the northern desert, there would be no need to mention this. But with the government as it is at present, what could be more

(D) The Manchu-Ch'ing period (1616-1911)

First three rulers:

Nurhaci (T'ai-tsu, 1616-1626)

Huang-t'ai-chi (T'ai-tsung, 1626-1643)

Shun-chih (1644-1661)

Original Capital: Hsing-ching (east of Mukden)

Annexation of Peking: 1644.

Removal of capital to Peking: 1644.

1) Fan Wên-ch'êng 范文程

Fan Wên-ch'êng was a native of Mukden. His great grandfather, Fang Ts'ung, held the office of War Minister in the Ming dynasty.

While young Wên-ch'êng was fond of studying. He was clever and resolute. He and his elder brother were both students of the hsien (county) college.

In 1618, after Nurhaci had taken Fu-shun (to the east of Mukden) Wên-ch'êng and his brother visited him.

Continuation of note from previous page:

appropriate? In order to travel by road, you should use a carriage, and in order to travel by water, you should use a boat, otherwise you cannot travel. In the same way, in order to rule this country, you must adopt the Chinese system of government. This is beyond doubt.

Yet in view of the differences of our national (Mongol) customs and the attitude of the nobles who have served successive emperors, it would be extremely difficult for you to adopt overnight the suggestions of conquered subjects and to take over the institutions of a vanquished nation. [But this can be carried out gradually.] YS, 158, 5a).

Impressed by Wên-ch'êng's great stature, Nurhaci talked to Wên-ch'êng and thought him able. He learned that Wên-ch'êng was the great grandson of Fan Ts'ung, then, looking at the beile (Manchu princes), he said: "He is the descendant of a celebrated statesman. You should treat him well."

In 1626 Huang-t'ai-chi came to the throne. Wên-ch'êng served in his entourage. Wên-ch'êng dealt exclusively with the confidential affairs of state. Whenever he had an audience, he would not come out until very late in the night. Sometimes he was again summoned before he found time to eat or rest.

Huang-t'ai-chih esteemed Wên-ch'êng's opinion. Whenever he discussed affairs of state he always said: "Does Fan know about this?" When he found anything which seemed to be not right he always said: "Why not discuss this with Fan?" If the officials replied: "Fan also says so," he then always gave his consent.

In 1644 Shun-chih came to the throne. Prince Dorgon commenced the campaign against the Ming. Wên-ch'êng memorialized that "the people in China proper, with families being separated and loss of lives, had suffered

great calamities. They desired to find a good ruler in order that they might be able to live in peace. We had previously abandoned Tsung-hua (after we have taken it) and massacred the people of Yung-p'ing. In those expeditions we pushed into the depth of China and then each time we withdrew. The [Chinese] thought we had no intention of taking China and desired only to seize gold, silver and slaves. They were in two minds about our aims.

"From now on, we should have stricter army discipline and not allow soldiers to commit any offence. We should also proclaim to the Ming officials and their subjects that we are going to conquer China and that officials may retain their posts; that the people are to be helped to resume their original occupation. Those who are good and able will be employed and those who are poor and helpless will receive relief. The area to the north of the Yellow River can be won over by merely passing round the proclamation."

He further suggested that "a state which took pleasure in killing could never found an empire. If our state desires only to dominate the region to the east of the Shan-hai-kuan, there is no more to be said. If it desires

to unify the whole of China it will be essential to pacify the people."

The next day he went direct to the army. He drafted a proclamation addressed to the Ming officials and their people, saying that the (Manchu) army would do no harm to them. The proclamation bore Wên-ch'êng's name and his title.

After the Ming capital, Peking, had been taken, Wên-ch'êng started all the business of government.

2) Hung Ch'êng-ch'ou 洪承疇

Hung was the Ming Governor-general of north-eastern Chihli and Liao-tung (eastern Hopei and southern Manchuria). He contributed a great deal in the establishment of the Ch'ing rule in China proper. The following story tells how Huang-t'ai-chih won him over.

"After Sung-shan fell (1642), Hung Ch'êng-ch'ou was captured. As he felt deeply indebted to the Ming emperor, he swore that he would rather die than surrender. With his hair dishevelled and feet bared, he cursed (the Manchus) incessantly from morning till night. T'ai-tsung's civil officials tried to calm him, but he refused to

answer them. T'ai-tsung then came himself to the place when Hung was staying. He took off his sable coat and, putting it on Hung, said gently: "Don't you feel cold, Sir?" Hung stared at the emperor in surprise for some time and said with a sigh: "You are the true ruler of all the world." Then he kotowed and asked to be allowed to surrender. The emperor was very much pleased. He bestowed on Hung innumerable gifts, and arranged a hundred kinds of entertainment to celebrate his surrender. His generals, however, were not very pleased about this. "After all, Hung Ch'êng-ch'ou is only a prisoner," they asked the emperor, "why does Your Majesty treat him with so much respect?" The emperor replied: "We have experienced all kinds of hardship. What is our ultimate reason for doing so?" The generals replied, "It is because we want to seize the land of China proper." The emperor smiled and said: "Quite! We are like travellers who are blind. But we have now got a man who can act as our guide. How can I help being happy?" Then the generals were agreed."⁽¹⁾

(1) Hsiao-t'ing tza-lu

Compare also Hung's biography in the official Ch'ing history, Ch'ing Shih Kao, 清史稿 ch.359, 1a ff.

To conclude our survey of the careers of these intellectuals I quote the commentary note to the biography of Han Yen-hui (see above) made by the compilers of the Liao History:

"In the early years of T'ai-tsu's reign, all the machinery of state had to be re-created. Such undertakings as the foundation of the capital and other cities, the building of palaces, the establishment of the rules governing the relationship between sovereign and ministers and the creation of definite ranks of offices -- all of which were properly regulated, were due to Yen-hui's efforts."

Here the "T'ai-tsu" refers to Apaoki, the founder of the Liao dynasty. As this title is also given to the founders of the other three non-Chinese dynasties (see above, Aguta, Chinghis and Nurhaci) so this note might well describe the careers of the other intellectuals who served the founders of those non-Chinese dynasties. It should, however, not be thought, from the above or similar

(1) T'ai-tsu is a title used always to apply to the temple of the founder of dynasties, built after their death by their descendants.

accounts, that these intellectuals helped the conquerors much during their initial enterprises as tribal leaders. But after these conquerors had successfully brought under their control a large number of Chinese either outside the Great Wall or in part of China proper, these intellectuals set up for them a Chinese system of government and made secure the rule of the conquerors over the Chinese.

Because of this these intellectuals were acting against the political interest of their own nation. Therefore, although most of them aimed primarily at mitigating the sufferings of the people, they were never forgiven by the Chinese by whom they were considered "traitors". (Those who were not Chinese by race were not, of course, blamed in this way.)

While the Chinese historians under the influence of chêng-t'ung theory ⁽¹⁾ failed to appreciate the tribal elements of the non-Chinese dynasties, they showed even less interest in the careers of these "traitor" intellectuals. This is why the history of the non-Chinese dynasties has been neglected.

(1) See Section IV.

IV. CHENG-T'UNG LUN 正統論 (THE THEORY OF
LEGITIMACY) AND NON-CHINESE DYNASTIES IN
CHINESE HISTORY.

If one divides the history of China, from the unification by Shih-huang Ti of the Ch'in in 221 B.C. down to the collapse of the Manchu-Ch'ing dynasty in 1911, into periods of unification and periods of disunion, it will be found that the total years of unification amount to 1610 whereas those of disunion amount to 523. If one proceeds to a further analysis, it will be found that (1) during the 1610 years of unification the non-Chinese peoples ruled over China for 356 years, approximately a ratio of 1 to 3.5 compared with the period under Chinese rule; (2) nearly all the 523 years of disunion was due to the strife between Chinese and non-Chinese; (3) the northern part of China proper was under non-Chinese control for nearly a thousand years, i.e. for as long as it was under Chinese control.

Today, apart from descendants of those non-Chinese peoples who have in the course of time been absorbed into the Chinese communities (some of them are still recognizable from their sinicised names) the non-Chinese peoples form part of the population of the Chinese Republic. The

territory of the Chinese Republic is the joint property of the Chinese and non-Chinese peoples.

Important as the part played by these non-Chinese peoples was and is, it is curious to find that the history of the dynasties founded by the non-Chinese has been very poorly understood by the Chinese. Some scholars have attributed this lack of understanding to the Literary Inquisition, organized by Emperor Ch'ien-lung, in the second half of the eighteenth century, which aimed primarily at obscuring the alien character of Manchu power. At the same time, such other non-Chinese dynasties as Liao, Chin and Yuan were thereby protected from abuse and the study of their history hampered. Consequently, "a small group of specialists continued to study the non-Chinese features present in these four dynasties, but in general the ban proved effective."⁽¹⁾ For more than a century "many authors and poets of China held themselves in check, so as not to incur the displeasure of the ruling house, or run the risk of accusation by a sycophantic

(1) Wittfogel and Fêng: op. cit., p.2-3.

fellow countrymen."⁽¹⁾

It is true that the political taboo in the Ch'ing dynasty played its part in discouraging the study of the non-Chinese dynasties; nevertheless, the total number of works devoted to this field of study in the Ch'ing dynasty exceeded that of the preceeding Ming. (During the Ch'ing dynasty, as a result of the peace and prosperity that prevailed, every branch of scholarship flourished. Had it not been for the ban on a number of books relating to the non-Chinese peoples and the fear of offending the political taboo, the achievement in this branch of study would have been greater.) But neglect of the non-Chinese peoples had existed long before the establishment of the Ch'ing dynasty, and has continued to exist even since the foundation of the Republic. There are, therefore, some deeper reasons to account for this. It is, to my mind, due to the concept of chêng-t'ung 正統, which may perhaps be translated as the theory of legitimacy, and the special method of dating used by the Chinese.

The theory embodied in the term chêng-t'ung has enabled

(1) L. C. Goodrich: The Literary Inquisition of Ch'ien-lung, p. 65.

Chinese historians to show their disapproval of a number of dynasties in Chinese history. The development of this theory may be divided into two periods. In the first period (from Han to the Northern Sung -- 2nd century B.C. to 11th century), it was used by historians to criticize those dynasties which they considered not qualified to be the legitimate holders of the mandate. It was sometimes also used by politicians to disparage the dynasties founded by their political enemies. In the second period (from Southern Sung -- 12th century -- onwards), owing to the increasing importance of the non-Chinese factors in Chinese history, it changed from a pure concept of legitimacy to an amalgamation of legitimacy and nationalism -- the latter first being taught by Confucius in his Ch'un Ch'iu and now reintroduced and advocated by Chu Hsi 朱熹 and his pupils in their work the T'ung-chien kang-mu 通鑑綱目 and its commentaries and supplements. It is this modified theory of cheng-t'ung which has dominated the mind of the Chinese people and which has been used to discriminate against the non-Chinese dynasties.

The term chéng-t'ung was derived from two expressions Chū-chêng 居正 and i-t'ung 一統 which appear in the Kung-yang chuan 公羊傳, one of the three commentaries

to Confucius' Ch'un Ch'iu. By chü-chêng (= to be rightful) was originally meant "(Affairs) must be handled in the rightful way" ("Affairs" in this context referring particularly to the question of succession) and by i-t'ung, "the unification of the empire." Chêng-t'ung, formed by combining these two expressions, means those "legitimate" dynasties, which received the mandate rightfully and during which the empire was unified.⁽¹⁾ Su Shih (Su Tung-p'o) had most concisely described chêng-t'ung as "the possession of the empire", and, again, "where the mandate dwells."⁽²⁾

A dynasty which fulfilled the requirements of cheng-t'ung was the rightful holder of the mandate of heaven. All the imperial designations would be used to rulers of this dynasty and their reign titles would be accepted as a chronological standard for recording events. A

(1) Ou-yang Hsiu 歐陽修 : Complete Works (Chü-shih Chi), ch.16, 2a.

(2) Su Shih allowed a freer application of chêng-t'ung to the dynasties. Unlike the strict school which in assigning chêng-t'ung, demanded that a dynasty fulfil the requirements of both chü-chêng and i-t'ung, he assigned chêng-t'ung to the most powerful of co-existing dynasties.

dynasty which was not the representative of chêng-t'ung was merely a state which had existed. Imperial designations would be withheld, though the members of the dynasty concerned might have claimed them.

In the course of history there were dynasties which fulfilled both the requirement of chü-chêng and that of i-t'ung. They were unquestionably the legitimate dynasties, the holders of chêng-t'ung. There were, however, periods during which the empire was divided and several states existed side by side. Historians differed in the assignment of chêng-t'ung to one of these co-existing states, and in whether or not chêng-t'ung should be assigned to any of them.

In the case of the Ch'in, the empire was unified, but the ruling house was considered "not rightful". Historians differed in the recognition or rejection of this "not rightful" dynasty which controlled a unified empire.

It is the existence of such periods which gives rise to the problem of chêng-t'ung.

From the Han time (2nd century B.C.) onwards, we find examples in which historians rejected one dynasty

and accepted another on various grounds under the general idea of chêng-t'ung. But it was not until the middle of the Northern Sung dynasty (11th century) that Ou-yang Hsiu first systematically studied the problem of chêng-t'ung. Contemporary scholars in treating the Five Dynasties between the T'ang and Sung rejected only the first (Later Liang), which had usurped the power of T'ang. Ou-yang Hsiu held that all the five dynasties should be rejected. He wrote three treatises on the theory of chêng-t'ung in which he made a thorough study of this problem.

Looking back over the whole period from the collapse of the Chou dynasty (B.C. 245) down to the year before the foundation of the Sung (960), Ou-yang Hsiu pointed out that there were three periods in which the existence of chêng-t'ung was open to question⁽¹⁾. The first period was the Ch'in dynasty (246-206 B.C.). Ch'in brought about the unification of China. It fulfilled the requirement of unification. But Ch'in claimed to rule

(1) Here only dynasties were considered. Individual rulers such as Wang Mang 王莽 (A.D. 9-22) and Wu Tsê-t'ien 武則天 (690-701) were not included.

by the "virtue of water". "Water" was not next in succession of the Five-Elements cycle by which the rise and decline of the dynasties was governed (1). Ch'in was therefore not a "rightful" dynasty. It was an "intercalary" (jūn 𡈼) dynasty. (Chêng-jūn was another term used to describe the problem of legitimacy. Cheng = regular (legitimate) and jūn = intercalary, irregular (illegitimate).)

The second period in question is the period after the collapse of the unified (Western) Chin and before

(1) In the period between the end of the Warring States and the Former Han (3rd - 1st century B.C.), there was an influential philosophical school which held that each dynasty ruled by virtue of one of the Five Elements: metal, wood, water, fire and earth. The Five Elements successively "generate" and "destroy" each other. Earth generates metal, metal generates water, water generates wood, wood generates fire and fire generates earth. Earth destroys water, water destroys fire, fire destroys metal, metal destroys wood and wood destroys earth.

Ch'in claimed to rule by virtue of water. The dynasty before Ch'in, the Chou, ruled by virtue of fire which generates earth. The rightful dynasty which replaced Chou ought to rule by virtue of earth. Han ruled by virtue of earth and was the rightful successor to Chou. Thus Ch'in was an intercalary dynasty.

The Han scholars disliked Ch'in on account of the cruel policy that Ch'in undertook against the literati. In reprisal they made use of this theory to deprive Ch'in of its privilege of being one of the legitimate dynasties.

the unification of Sui, the period of rivalry between the Southern and Northern Dynasties (420-589). One school assigned chêng-t'ung to the Southern Dynasties: the Eastern Chin, the Sung, the Ch'i, the Liang and the Ch'ên. The Eastern Chin was the successor of the Western Chin, and the other four followed in succession. Another school assigned chêng-t'ung to the T'o-pa Wei, the Northern Dynasty, because from one of its successors arose the Sui which annexed the Ch'ên, the last one of the Southern Dynasties, and brought about the unification.

The third period in question was the period between T'ang and Sung, the period of Five Dynasties. One school refused to assign chêng-t'ung to Liang, the first of the five dynasties, because it was founded by murdering the T'ang emperor. Another school held that chêng-t'ung should be withheld from all of the five dynasties, because none of them acquired the throne rightfully and, moreover, the empire was not unified.

To these three periods discussed by Ou-yang Hsiu, we may add the period between the Later Han and the Western Chin, the period of the Three Kingdoms. One school assigned chêng-t'ung to Wei, the most powerful one of the three. Another school rejected Wei, because it

usurped the power of Han. This school assigned chêng-t'ung to Shu-Han which had a vague claim to family relationship with the Han.

Against the background of these different schools of opinion with regard to the assignment of chêng-t'ung, Ou-yang Hsiu set out his own principles:

(1) Those dynasties which were founded by rightful means and during which the empire was unified were entitled to chêng-t'ung. Such dynasties included Yao, Shun, Hsia, Shang, Chou, Ch'in, Han and T'ang.

(2) Those dynasties which were not founded by rightful means but succeeded in bringing about the unification should also be regarded as chêng-t'ung. Such dynasties included Chin and Sui.

(3) There were dynasties which established themselves during a time when the empire was in turmoil, and no sovereign was in existence, and further, succeeded in controlling only part of the empire, co-existing with other dynasties founded under the same circumstances. Since each had an equal claim and it was impossible to decide to which one chêng-t'ung should be assigned, it was better to withdraw chêng-t'ung from such dynasties,

as exemplified by Eastern Chin and Later (the T'o-pa) Wei.

(4) Those dynasties which were neither founded rightfully nor able to bring about the unification of the empire, were definitely not entitled to claim chêng-t'ung. Such dynasties included the Wei and the Five Dynasties.⁽¹⁾

Ou-yang Hsiu's argument was criticized by Chang Wang-chih 章望之 whose theory was again attacked by Su Shih. We will not discuss here the opinions of Chang and Su.⁽²⁾

* * * *

It was amidst this controversy on the assignment of chêng-t'ung that Ssu-ma Kuang 司馬光 compiled his monumental work the Tzu-chih t'ung-chien 資治通鑑 which historical students today still consult. In accepting the Wei (of

(1) Ou-yang Hsiu: "Three Treatises on the theory of chêng-t'ung," (正統三論) in his Complete Works, Pt. I, Chü-shih chi, ch.16, pp.2-7.

(2) Su Shih's opinion is given under the subject: Three Supplementary Treatises on the theory of chêng-t'ung, included in his complete works, Tung-p'o Ch'i-chi ch.21, pp.5-8. Chang's work has been lost, but part of his opinion can be seen from passages quoted by Su Shih.

the Three Kingdoms period) and rejecting the Shu-Han, Ssu-ma Kuang remarks:

"In this work, I desire only to tell of the rise and decline of States, and the good and ill fortunes of the people, to enable the reader to select for himself the good and bad, success and failure, which may serve as example and warning. The work is not intended to imitate the Ch'un Ch'iu, which had established standards of criticism for judging the rights and wrongs with a view to cleansing society of disorder and returning it to the right path. I do not presume to take part in the dispute of the problem of chêng-yün 正亂 . I speak only of actual achievements.

"Chou, Ch'in, Han, Chin, Sui and T'ang, all brought together the Nine Regions (the Empire), and handed down the imperial rule to their posterity. Although their descendants became weak and removed their capital, still they maintained the heritage of their ancestors and had the hope of restoration. Moreover, all those who contended for power with them were their former vassals, and so, for rulers of these dynasties, I have always used the imperial designations.

"All the other dynasties existed in periods during which two or more states were in co-existence. Each of these dynasties possessed only part of the land of the empire and exerted only part of the authority of a sovereign and neither was powerful enough to be able to annex the other. Each of them adopted the imperial title and between them there had existed no feudal relationship. -- I have always dealt with these dynasties as co-existing states. I have treated them equally and without bias. In short, I have tried to avoid distorting the facts and to approach impartiality.

"However, for periods when the Empire was split up it is impossible to record the sequence of events without using years and dates (i.e. of one dynasty or another.)

"As Han handed down the mandate to Wei, from whom Chin received it, Chin handed it down to Sung, who handed it down until it came to Ch'ên from whom Sui took it. T'ang handed it down to [Later] Liang until it came to (Later) Chou, from whom the present dynasty, the Great Sung, received it. Therefore, I cannot but use the reign titles of Wei, of Sung, Ch'i, Liang, and Ch'ên (the Southern Dynasties), of Later Liang, Later T'ang,

Later Chin, Later Han and Later Chou (the Five Dynasties) respectively, to record the affairs of the various co-existent states of each of these periods. But I have no intention of honouring the one or disparaging the other according to the theory of chêng-jün."⁽¹⁾

The impartial attitude of Ssu-ma Kuang deserves praise. Nevertheless, although he freed himself from the influence of the theory of chêng-t'ung, by adopting the reign titles of the Wei, of the Southern Dynasties and of the Five Dynasties to record events, and by using the imperial designations for their rulers, he practically gave chêng-t'ung to these dynasties. Here one can see the importance of the part played in Chinese historiography by the Chinese method of dating.

European countries since the 6th century have had a universal standard for the reckoning of time, namely the Christian era, and before that another absolute standard was used, the A.U.C. -- counting from the foundation of Rome. The Moslem world has also its own era, the Hijra. China, on the other hand, recorded events in an entirely

(1) Ssu-ma Kuang: Tzŭ-chih t'ung-chien, ch.69, pp.8-10.

different way. Apart from the dynastic name adopted by each dynasty, the sovereigns of each dynasty used one or more "reign titles", nien-hao 年號 (1), and dates were customarily recorded as such and such a year of the reign. This practice gave rise to a problem for historians, especially when a general history was to be compiled, or a line of succession of dynasties was to be worked out. For there were periods during which China was divided and each of the co-existing states used the reign titles of its own rulers. Historians had to choose as the standard the reign titles of one only of these co-existing dynasties. In accepting the reign titles of one of two or more rival dynasties, they had also to

(1) The nien-hao, or reign-title, is the name given to the period during which a particular emperor reigned. From the 15th century onwards, namely in the Ming and Ch'ing dynasties, each emperor had only one reign title, but in previous dynasties it was not unusual for the reign of one sovereign to be divided into more than one nien-hao. The practice of adopting a reign title was established by the Wu-ti of the Former Han dynasty. During the 54 years of his reign (B.C.140-87) he adopted no less than eleven successive reign titles.

In his Chinese Imperial Designations, Prof. H. H. Dubs has suggested that instead of reign title, the term "year period" should be used to translate the nien-hao, especially when the sovereign used more than one nien-hao. (Jl. of Am. Or. Soc., Vol. 65). It would seem that for the Ming and Ch'ing periods the term reign title would be more suitable.

assign the imperial designations to rulers of the adopted dynasty. Here, in fact, lies the root of the chêng-t'ung problem.

Ou-yang Hsiu says:

"It appears to me that chêng-t'ung was the means whereby the rightful sovereigns united the people and ruled the empire..... In the early years of the Han dynasty the reigns of sovereigns were divided into earlier and later periods, and the emperor Wu-ti began the practice of assigning different reign titles to each of these periods. The use of these reign titles served as a symbol that the people were united in allegiance to the emperor and that the empire was under one rule.

"In later times the line of the successive reign titles were regarded as the line of succession of the rightful sovereigns.

"In the course of history there were, however, periods of usurpation as well as times of turmoil. The reign titles were numerous and confused. It was difficult to decide which of these reign titles was to be adopted. The problem of chêng-yün, or the genuineness or falsity of the rulers or dynasties thus arose."⁽¹⁾

⁽¹⁾ Ou-yang Hsiu, op.cit., ch.16,1b.

Coming back to the Tzŭ-chih t'ung-chien we see that, by adopting the reign titles of the dynasties mentioned above (p. 217) Ssu-ma Kuang worked out a line of succession -- if not a line of chêng-t'ung dynasties -- the relation of which to the co-existing dynasties is shown in Diagram II.




In Diagram II the part shaded with lines slanting towards the left shows the line of succession of the dynasties the reign titles of which were used by Ssu-ma Kuang. This is, in fact, the line of succession of dynasties for the first half of Chinese history commonly known to Chinese people. (For the complete picture of the dynasties in Chinese history see Diagram III.)

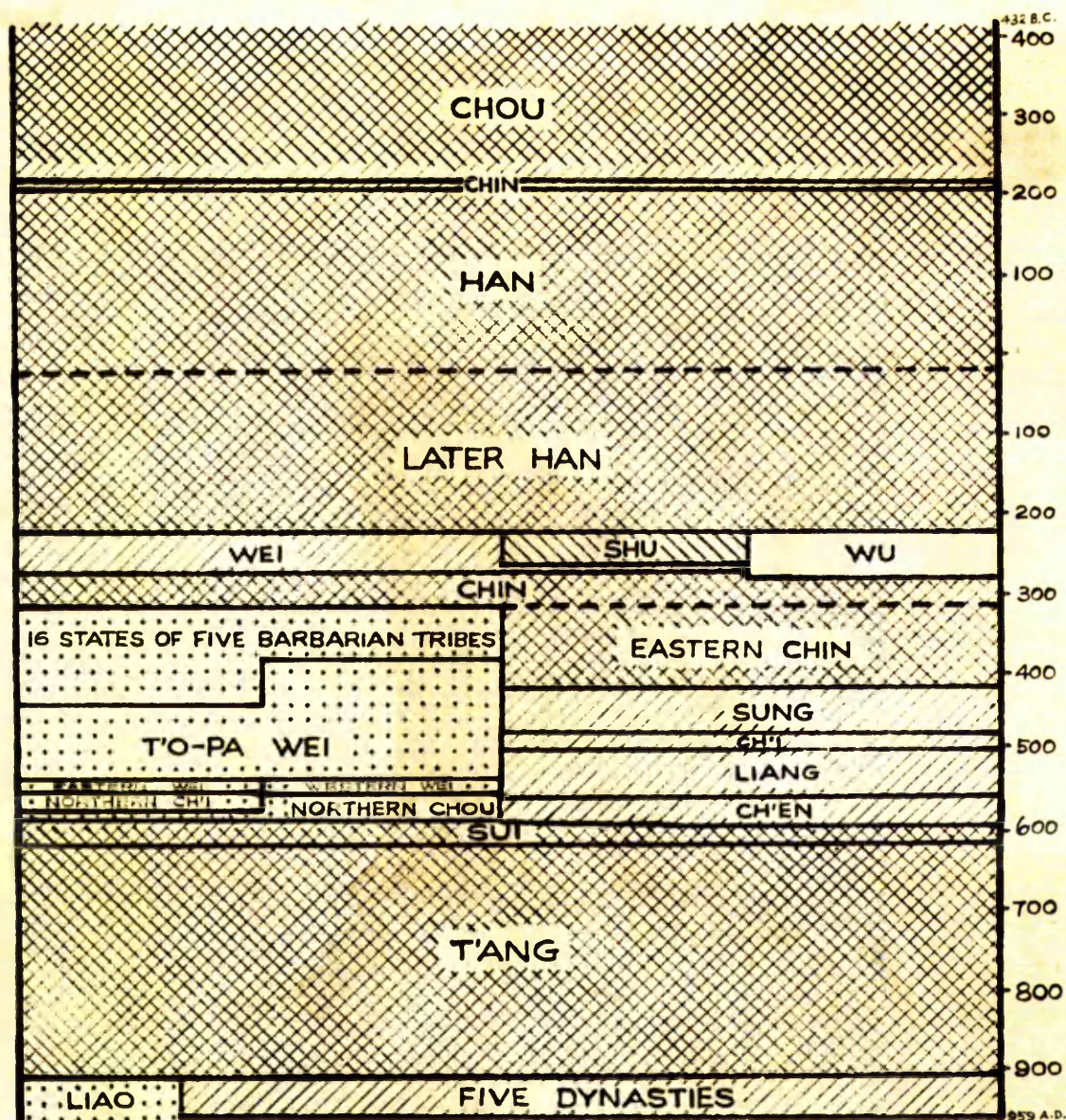
In this line of succession the Wu and Shu-Han of the Three Kingdoms period, and the Northern Dynasties (the T'o-pa Wei and its successors) were "rejected", as well as the Sixteen States founded by the Wu-Hu (Five Barbarians Tribes") preceeding the T'o-pa.⁽¹⁾ T'o-pa Wei was founded

(1) The first one of the Sixteen States, the Han, overthrew the Western Chin in 316. At one time there were nine out of the Sixteen States co-existing. On another occasion, one of these States, the Ch'in, nearly unified the whole northern China. These States have never been considered as proper dynasties. But they ruled the northern half of China and covered a period of nearly

Diagram II

Showing the line of succession of dynasties worked out by Ssu-ma Kuang and the dynasties considered as cheng-t'ung by Chu Hsi.

-  ... Dynasties the reign titles of which were used by Ssu-ma Kuang.
-  ... Dynasties which were considered as chêng-t'ung by Chu Hsi.
-  ... Dynasties founded by non-Chinese.



by non-Chinese. It controlled, however, the whole of north China, and was stronger than its counterparts, the Southern Dynasties, to the south of the Yangtze.

By "rejected" it is not meant that those dynasties were "totally" rejected. Accounts of the events which occurred in those dynasties were also given, but rather haphazardly, in the history of their corresponding "accepted" dynasties. This, as also happened later with the Liao and Chin dynasties (see p. 227) greatly obscured or distorted the real historical situation of the time.

About a century after the time of Ssu-ma Kuang, the T'ung-chien kang-mu 通鑑綱目 was drawn up under the direction of Chu Hsi, the great Sung Neo-Confucianist. Although the T'ung-chien kang-mu is a merely re-arranged and condensed edition of the Tzŭ-chih t'ung-chien⁽¹⁾ it must be noted that Chu Hsi differed entirely from Ssu-ma Kuang in his attitude towards the problem of chêng-t'ung.

Continuation of note on previous page:

140 years (304-439)

(1) For their nature, their relation to one another and their value as sources, see O. Franke, Das Tze-tschi-t'ung-kien und das T'ung-kien Kang-mu (Sitz. der Preuss. Ak. der Wiss., 1930, p.103-144.)

If we take the development of the theory of cheng-t'ung up to the time of Chu Hsi as its first period, the completion of the T'ung-chien kang-mu may be described as the beginning of its second period.

Chu Hsi realized that the Tzū-chih t'ung-chien was too voluminous for ordinary readers. But a more important consideration was that, as an orthodox Confucian, he could not agree with Ssu-ma Kuang's attitude towards usurping dynasties, especially in view of the menace to Sung from the co-existing northern dynasties, the Khitan-Liao and the Jurchen-Chin. He condensed and re-arranged the Tzū-chin t'ung-chien in the light of the principles of tsun-wang 尊王 and jang-i 攘夷 laid down by Confucius in his Ch'un Ch'iu and with the same intention.⁽¹⁾

In the T'ung-chien kang-mu Chu Hsi assigned chéng-t'ung to the Shu-Han and rejected the Wei (compare p.217).

He withheld recognition from a number of dynasties, such

(1) Confucius lived in a time when the central power of the Chou dynasty was dwindling. The powerful vassal states challenged the authority of the Chou King and within the vassal states themselves the subvassals challenged the authority of their princes. The established social order was in ruin. The barbarians constantly threatened the security of the Empire. Confucius compiled the Ch'un Ch'iu to preach two prevailing ideas, tsun-wang and jang-i, ("to honour the sovereign" and "to repel the barbarians".) He

as the Southern Dynasties and the Five Dynasties, to which imperial designations had been given by Ssu-ma Kuang. He could not avoid using their reign titles, but he managed to present them in such a way as to be able to show that they were not accepted by the whole of the empire. He made strict distinctions between the chêng-t'ung dynasties and the "non chêng-t'ung" dynasties, and between the Chinese and barbarians, in order to support the Confucian doctrines tsun-wang and jang-i.

Chu Hsi's T'ung-chien kang-mu covered the same period as Ssu-ma Kuang's Tzŭ-chih t'ung-chien, namely from the last 200 years of the Chou dynasty to the end of the Five Dynasties, 431 B.C. to 959 A.D. Soon afterwards Chin Li-hsiang 金履祥 wrote a supplementary section, carrying the history back to the time of Yao 堯, and later, during the Ming dynasty, Ch'ên Ching 陳桎 wrote

Continuation of note on previous page:

praised good and condemned evils, that is to say, events which are in conformity with or in opposition to these principles, with a view to giving example and warning, in order to "cleanse society of disorder and return it to the right path."

yet another supplement taking it back to Fu Hsi 伏羲 .
 At the close of the 15th century, Shang-Lo 商輅 prepared
 a Hsü-pien (Supplementary Volume) continuing the history
 to the end of the Yuan dynasty. At the beginning of the
 18th century Chang T'ing-yü 張廷玉 wrote a second
 Supplement, San-pien 三編 extending the story down to
 the end of the Ming dynasty (1644).

The enlarged edition of T'ung-chien kang-mu, including
 the supplements for the earlier and later periods,
 covered the whole of Chinese history down to the end of
 the Ming dynasty. It was popular because of the authority
 of Chu Hsi, and formed one of the most important sources
 of historical knowledge for the Chinese literati from
 Sung times onwards. Abridgements of this work were
 prepared one after another in order to render it more
 accessible to ordinary readers or schoolboys.⁽¹⁾

(1) On the completion of Chang T'ing-yü's Supplementary
 Volume in 1745 Ch'ien-lung wrote a preface praising the
T'ung-chien kang-mu as the "only standard work" of the
 annals. In 1767, however, the T'ung-chien chi-lan 通鑑輯覽
 a new general history of China, was drawn up by Ch'ien-lung,
 in order to offset Chu Hsi's work. This motive, however,
 he did not openly admit. It is obvious that, although the
 Manchu rulers could demand loyalty from their Chinese
 subjects, by making use of the principle of tsung-wang,
 and by appealing to the ethical relationship between
 sovereign and subjects taught in the Confucian teaching
 of the Five Relationships, the idea of jang-i was nevertheless

The period dealt with in Shang-Lo's Hsü-pien, that of the Sung-Liao-Chin and the Yuan dynasties, is a time of rivalry between the Chinese and non-Chinese, and of the submission of China to the nomads.⁽¹⁾ Nevertheless, although the ruling houses of the Liao, Chin and Yuan dynasties were non-Chinese, the people over whom they ruled were overwhelmingly Chinese. The influence of cheng-t'ung and the attitude towards the non-Chinese

Continuation of note on previous page:

certainly not suitable to be allowed to spread among such subjects under an alien ruling house.

Several years later (in 1775) the extended edition of the T'ung-chien kang-mu was revised, particular attention being paid to the non-Chinese terms used in that work. (Dr. Goodrich has given a translation of the description of this work in the Imperial Catalogue (Ssu-k'u Ch'uan Shu Ti-Yao)(Literary Inquisition, p.141).)

In the preface to his Authorized Version of the Liao, Chin and Yuan Histories Ch'ien-lung remarks: "The translation into Chinese of the Khitan, Jurchen and Mongol terms was done by Chinese who had little sympathy with these peoples. They had a different way of life and used a different kind of language. They possessed, in addition, a wicked disposition to condemn these non-Chinese peoples in their choice of words used for translating."

The T'ung-chien chi-lan to a certain extent replaced the T'ung-chien kang-mu, but the T'ung-chien kang-mu remained an important work of reference.

(1) After the peace treaty of 1004, the Sung agreed to pay annually to the Liao gifts in silk and in cash. For one period the Southern Sung proclaimed itself as vassal state of the Chin and paid tribute to them. The Yuan replaced the Sung and ruled the whole of China proper. (See Diagram III).

dynasties typical of Chinese historians since Chu Hsi's time, is illustrated by the way in which Shang Lo treats these dynasties. In his introduction to his Hsü-pien, Shang Lo says:

"The Khitan-Liao grew out of the ancient tribe of Hsien-pi and the Jurchen-Chin rose from the tribes of Pohai. Both barbarians, being cruel and crafty, had established themselves as states in the neighbourhood of China. Their affairs were therefore also gathered and recorded in the history of the contemporary (Sung) dynasty.

"The control over China by the Mongol-Yuan was a time of extreme misfortune. This state of affairs was like a man wearing shoes on his head and hat on his feet, or the [bright] sky and earth turning to darkness. The Three Bonds (the traditional social order) declined and the Nine [kinds of] Regulations (the administrative systems) were in ruin. Nevertheless the Mongols were able not only to control the whole of China, but also to hand down their rule for seven or eight generations. It is impossible to avoid using their reign titles to record dates. However, we do not give up our discrimination between Chinese and

barbarians." (1)

In short, after Chu Hsi, the theory of chêng-t'ung became a mixture of legitimacy and nationalism.

To the average Chinese literati, from the Sung time onwards -- as few of them bothered to learn for themselves the correct meaning of this theory -- chêng-t'ung has been understood simply as a line of succession of dynasties which occurred in Chinese history, with those founded by Chinese as chêng-t'ung and those founded by non-Chinese as "non-chêng-t'ung"; the chêng-t'ung dynasties were good while these "non-chêng-t'ung" dynasties were bad. Mêng Wên-t'ung 蒙文通 has described the theory of chêng-t'ung as the historical nationalism of the Chinese people (3). He is right in so far as the second phase of the development of the theory is concerned.

It is owing to the influence of this theory that the

- (1) Shang Lo: T'ung-chien kang-mu Hsü-pien, Introduction.
通鑑綱目續編序 Compare Ch'ên T'ing's essay on p. 161 ff.
- (2) There are special histories devoted to the Liao, Chin and Yuan dynasties, the Liao Shih, Chin Shih and Yuan Shih. But few Chinese literati take the trouble to consult them.
- (3) Bulletin of the Public Library of Ssu-ch'uan, Ch'êngtu, No. 2.



Chinese people from Sung times onwards have been less than ever able to think objectively about anything non-Chinese, and that the history of the non-Chinese peoples has been neglected. It is also owing to this theory that the Chinese people have become the least "frontier conscious" people in the world and that they remain to this day ignorant of the land and peoples of their present-day outlying provinces. Indeed, the difficulties which arose in the first stage of the establishment of diplomatic relations between China and the western world may also be traced in part to this source.

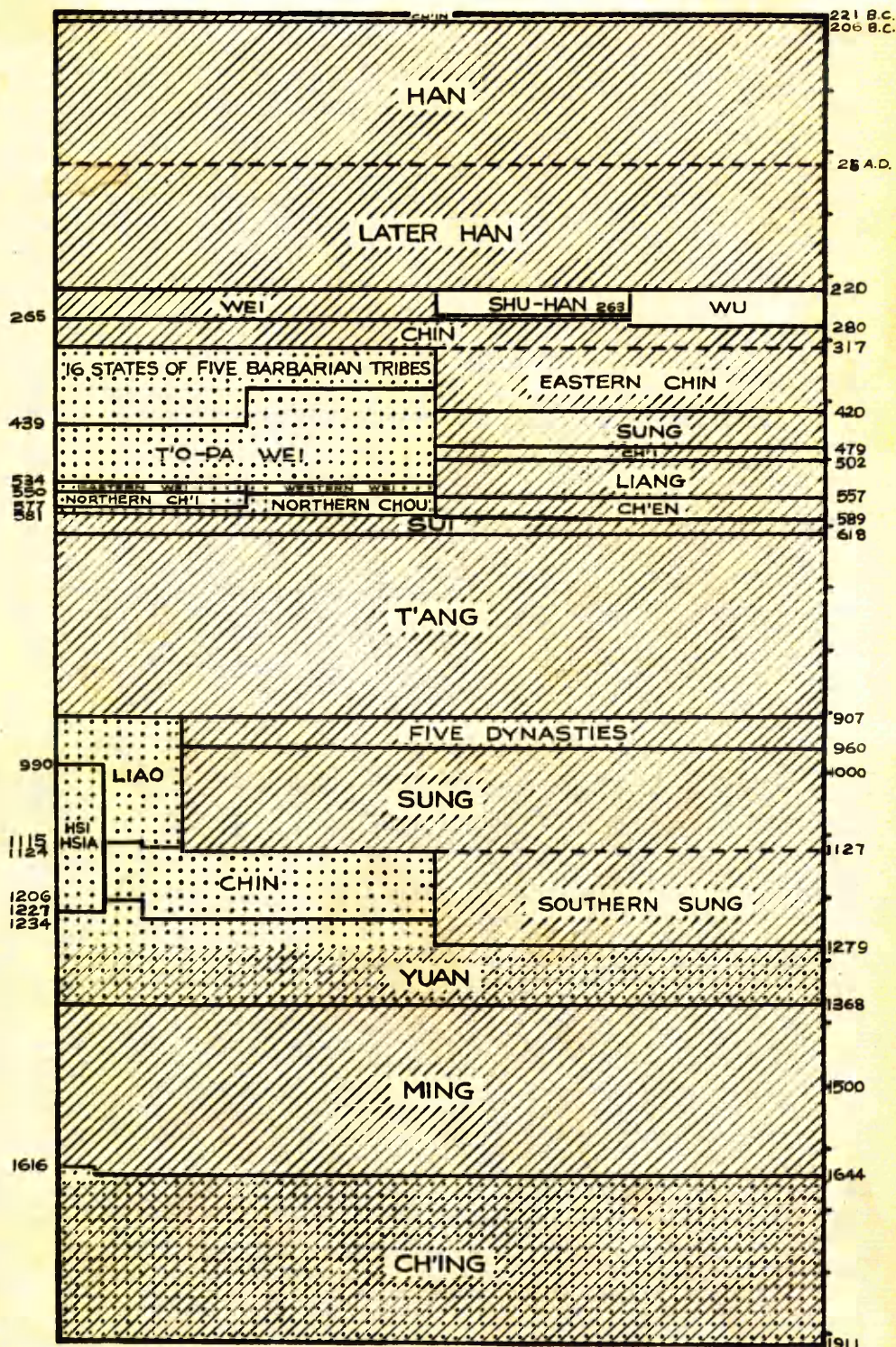
The accompanying Diagram III shows the dynasties, both Chinese and non-Chinese, from the unification of China by the Ch'in down to the end of the Manchu dynasty. A proper history of China ought to give a fair account of both the Chinese and the non-Chinese dynasties. Chinese histories, however, have been stories of the series of dynasties whose reign titles have been used for the chronology of events. In this series of dynasties, such non-Chinese dynasties as the Yuan and Ch'ing were also included, but they were regarded as "non-chêng-t'ung"

and foreign. The Chinese histories have essentially been histories of the Han-jên.

Diagram III

Showing the dynasties from the unification of China by
the Ch'in down to the end of the Ch'ing (221 B.C. - 1911 A.D.)

-  ... shows dynasties the reign titles of which have been used.
-  ... shows dynasties founded by non-Chinese.



(V) SOME REMARKS ON THE OFFICE OF SHU-MI SHIH.

Throughout the Sung dynasty (960-1276), the main functions of government in China were exercised by the heads of two departments of state which were of more or less equal importance. These were the department of "Chung-shu" (i.e. the chief minister, or chief ministers)⁽¹⁾ which was responsible for civil administration, and the Shu-mi Yuan, i.e. the department of the Shu-mi Shih, which controlled military affairs.⁽²⁾ During the succeeding Chin and Yuan (1260-1368) dynasties, the Shu-mi Yuan also dealt with military affairs, though its status was not so high as its counterpart in the Sung period. As a result, it has been thought that the Shu-mi Yuan was never concerned with anything but military affairs. However, an investigation of the early history of this post of

(1) In the T'ang times (618-906) Chung-shu was one of the three Departments of State, among which the powers of the Tsai-hsiang (Chief Minister) of ancient times were divided (see p. 241). Later historians, however, often used "Chung-shu" to denote the whole civil administration. Here this term is used in that sense. Actually, in the Sung dynasty, as in the T'ang, Chung-shu was only one of the three highest civil administrative organs

(2) Sung Shih, ch.162, Ia.

Shu-mi Shih reveals that during the period preceding the Sung dynasty -- from the middle of the T'ang dynasty, when this office first came into being (765), to the end of the Five Dynasties (959) -- the Shu-mi Shih had little to do with military affairs. Moreover, during the fifty years immediately preceding the Sung, the Shu-mi Shih usurped the power of the chief minister, whose duties were reduced to the performance of relatively insignificant matters. In order to illustrate the background of the rise of the Liao Shu-mi Yuan system, we include here this short study of the early phase of the development of this office.⁽¹⁾

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The office of Shu-mi Shih was first established in

(1) In spite of the importance of the part played by the Shu-mi Shih in the later years of the T'ang dynasty and in the period of the Five Dynasties, neither of the two official histories of the T'ang dynasty -- the Old T'ang History and the New T'ang History -- gives any account of it in its chapters on officialdom. (Chiu T'ang-shu, ch.43-45; Hsin T'ang-shu, ch.36-39). The Old History of the Five Dynasties gives only a very brief description of it (Chiu Wu-tai Shih, ch.149), whereas the New History of the Five Dynasties does not even provide a special section on officialdom. It is, therefore, impossible to find information from the histories of the periods with which this office was most closely concerned. However, Ma Tuan-lin has incorporated the fragmentary information pertaining to this office which is scattered in the above-mentioned histories into the special passage on this office in his Wên-hsien T'ung-k'ao (ch.58) and it is to this that we are mainly indebted for the following account.

765, during the reign of Emperor Tai-tsung 太宗 (763-779) of the T'ang dynasty. It was originally a minor position held by eunuchs. Those who held the position even had no proper office building of their own, there being only three rooms in which the documents were stored. At that time it was known as the Nei Shu-mi Shih, the Shu-mi Shih of the Inner Court. Its function was merely to receive memorials and bring them before the eyes of the emperor in the Inner Court, and to proclaim the emperor's decisions, if any, to the Chung-shu and Mên-hsia, the chief ministers, for execution.

During the period 806-824, the office of Shu-mi Shih was usually filled by eunuchs who were retired "Army-Inspectors". They still did not have proper office accommodation of their own.

During the 880's, this office was held by Yang Fu-kung and Hsi-mên Chi-yuan who, because they sought to usurp the power of the Chief Minister, prepared "yellow-papers" and attached them to the Chief Minister's despatches. It was not until then that the Shu-mi Shih began to control directly public affairs.

In the beginning of the tenth century, the power of

the Shu-mi Shih increased to such an extent that they constituted a threat to the power of the Chief Minister. This led the emperor Chao-tsung to issue the following decree in 901:

"In recent years, whenever the Chief Minister has reported in audience, the Shu-mi Shih in attendance has always quarrelled with him. When they all retired the Shu-mi Shih says that the emperor's intentions have not been properly interpreted and proceeds to alter the decisions, thus meddling with authority and disorganizing the government. Therefore, from now on, the Shu-mi Shih must follow the practice established during the period of Ta-chung (847-60): They may not come into the audience hall to receive their instructions until after the audience of the Chief Minister has finished."

In 907 the T'ang dynasty collapsed and the power of the eunuchs was extinguished. But the office of the Shu-mi Shih took on a new lease of life.

In order to avoid a repetition of the disaster caused by the T'ang eunuchs, Chu Chüan-chung, who founded the Later Liang (907-922) in place of the T'ang, changed the

name of the Shu-mi Yuan to Ch'ung-chêng Yuan 崇政院 and appointed Ching Hsiang, a scholar, as its Commissioner (Shih). This was the beginning of the practice of appointing literati to this post.

The function of the Ch'ung-chêng Shih was to offer advice and make proposals to the emperor. Although they usurped the duties of the Chief Ministers, they did not as yet have governmental authority of their own.

The situation of the Shu-mi Shih of this period is best explained by Ma Tuan-lin himself who remarks:

"The first emperor of the Liang dynasty learned from the errors of the T'ang period and ceased to appoint eunuchs to this post. Yet he realized only that eunuchs should not be appointed to the Shu-mi Shih, and did not realize that the very existence of the Shu-mi Yuan was unnecessary. All those who held this office were the most intimate ministers of the emperor. It was a case of having besides the regular chief ministers one extra chief minister and of having one extra shêng besides the three proper shêng (the office buildings of the chief ministers)."

In 923, when the Later Liang dynasty was replaced by

the Later T'ang, the Ch'ung-chêng Yuan again became the Shu-mi Yuan. Kuo Ch'ung-tao and An Ch'ung-hui successively held the office of Shu-mi Shih. In this period the Shu-mi Shih exercised the real power of the Chief Minister.

Commenting on the functions of the Shu-mi Shih of this period, Ssu-ma Kuang says:

"From the reign of T'ai-tsu of the Later Liang (i.e. Chu Chüan-chung), important army and state affairs were decided by the emperor in consultation with the Ch'ung-chêng Shih, or Shu-mi Shih, while the functions of the Chief Minister had been reduced to receiving decisions which had already been reached, carrying out (the instructions contained in) imperial edicts, producing historical equivalents (of events under discussion) and handling secretarial work."⁽¹⁾
In 936 Shih Chin-t'ang founded the Later Chin dynasty.

Four years later, in 939, he abolished the Shu-mi Yuan⁽²⁾.

(1) Ssu-ma Kuang: Tzū-chih T'ung-chien, ch.282, 3b.

(2) With regard to this action by Shih Ching-t'ang, Ssu-ma Kuang writes: (Tzu-chi T'ung-chien, ch.282, 3b) "The Emperor (i.e. Shih Ching-t'ang) had witnessed the overbearing conduct of An Ch'ung-hui and Kuo Ch'ung-tao, (the Shu-mi Shih) during the reign of Ming-tsung (926-933) of the Later T'ang dynasty. Therefore, when he first came to the throne he ordered that the office of Shu-mi Shih should be held concurrently by San Wei-han, the Chief Minister.

"Later Liu Ch'u-chien was appointed Shu-mi Shih. But

But in 944 it was re-established. Throughout the Later Chou which followed the Later Chin, the Shu-mi Yuan was kept in being.^P In 960 Chao K'uang-yin re-united China and founded the Sung dynasty. He carried out an important reform of the office of Shu-mi Shih, allocating to it the duty of the administration of military affairs of the nation. Thenceforth, the Shu-mi Yuan "began to have its proper duty and ceased to be a superfluous organ."

Thirteen years prior to the foundation of the Sung, the Liao emperor Yeh-lü Tê-kuang entered K'ai-fêng, the capital of the Later Chin (947). He took over the Chin administration and appointed a Shu-mi Shih. The next year his successor, Shih-tsung, inaugurated in his own

Continuation of note on previous page:

his replies and suggestions seldom coincided with the emperor's opinion. So, taking advantage of the death of Liu's mother, the Emperor abolished the Shu-mi Yuan. Its seal was surrendered to the Chief Minister's office and its affairs were handed over to the Chief Minister to deal with. However, the high officials and the imperial entourage knew little about politics. They were accustomed to the practice of having a Shu-mi Yuan, and constantly sought to restore it.

state two Shu-mi Yuan which survived throughout the whole of the Liao dynasty and the early part of the Chin period. An account of the history of the Shu-mi Yuan during these periods has been given above.⁽¹⁾

Therefore the Shu-mi Yuan of the Liao and early Chin period is, in so far as its function is concerned, a continuation of the Shu-mi Yuan of the Five Dynasties period.⁽²⁾

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The story of the office of the Shu-mi Shih in the first phase of its development provides an interesting illustration of an important tendency recurrent in Chinese political history, the gradual encroachment upon the power of the Chief Minister of a member of the emperor's entourage who eventually himself becomes the chief minister. For example, the three Shêng, or Departments

(1) See above, p. 84ff.).

(2) In the later part of the Chin (after 1138), the Shu-mi Yuan became an organization dealing with military affairs. (See p. 170). Throughout the Mongol-Yuan dynasty, the function of the Shu-mi Yuan was similar to that of the later part of the Chin dynasty.

In the early years of his campaign against the Mongol, (the founder of the Ming,) Chu Yuan-Chang, also established a Shu-mi Yuan, which, however, was abolished soon afterwards.

of State of the T'ang dynasty -- the Chung-shu Sheng (the Grand Imperial Secretariat), the Men-hsia Sheng (the Imperial Chancellery) and the Shang-shu Sheng (the Department of Affairs of State) -- among which the powers of Tsai-hsiang (the Chief Minister) of ancient times were divided, all had similar origins. (1)

(1) The Shang-shu was originally one of the six shang-officers attached to the Shao-fu, the office which looked after the personal affairs of the emperor during the Han dynasty. The six Shang officers were the Shang-i, the officer in charge of dress, Shang-kuan, the officers in charge of head-dress, the Shang-shih, the officer in charge of food, Shang-yü, the officer in charge of the bath, Shang-hsi, the officer in charge of the bed, and Shang-shu, the officer in charge of writing. They were very low positions, but were then filled by literati.

The emperor Wu-ti (B.C.140-87), in making himself an absolute monarch, by-passed the usual governmental channels and undertook personally the business of government. The Shang-shu, as his secretaries, became important.

The Chung-shu also originated from Wu-ti's time. In the later years of his reign, Wu-ti spent a great deal of time in the harem to which the Shang-shu were not admitted. He established the Chung-shu Yeh-che (abridged to Chung-shu), an office held by eunuchs, whose job it was to take charge of the memorials originally handled by the Shang-shu. (Cf. H. H. Dubs: Pan Ku, Vol.2, p.144. The Shang-shu in that book is rendered as "Masters of Writing" and the Chung-shu "Palace Writers".)

* * * *

The Shu-mi Yuan and Shu-mi Shih have so far been translated "Privy Council" and "Privy Councillor" respectively. (Giles, Mathews and others). The Shu-mi Yuan, however, differs from the Privy Council in many respects. While the Shu-mi Shih was a post held originally by a eunuch, the Privy Council was composed of a group of persons of high social position. While the original function of the Shu-mi Shih was to convey memorials and edicts to the emperor, the functions of the Curia regis, the predecessor of the Privy Council, were "to advise the King [of England] in matters of legislation and administration to see justice done and generally execute the royal will." ← The Shu-mi Shih was established in addition to an already existing administrative organ headed by the Tsai-hsiang, or Chief Minister, whereas the Privy Council was the organ from which the later Cabinet evolved.

In Japan we find a Sūmitsu In, the Chinese characters for which are the same as those for the Shu-mi Yuan. One might have expected that this office had existed for a long time and that it owed its origin to Chinese Shu-mi Yuan. It is, however, of quite recent establishment,

having been created only in 1888. "The (Japanese) Privy Councillors shall in accordance with the provisions for the organization of the Privy Council deliberate upon important matters of state when they have been consulted by the Emperor."⁽¹⁾ It is a purely advisory organ patterned on the later English Privy Council, taking only its name from Chinese history.

(1) Hirobumi Ito (translated by Miyoji): Commentaries on the Constitution of the Empire of Japan. 1889, p.97.

VI. SOME EXAMPLES OF REPETITION IN THE TEXT OF THE
LIAO SHIH.

The source materials for the history of the Liao period may be classified roughly into two main groups, the northern and the southern. The northern group consists of works written by the Khitans, the most important of which are the official annals of the Liao dynasty, the Huang-ch'ao Shih-lu by Yeh-lü Yen 耶律儼: 皇朝實錄 and the original edition of the Liao Shih by Ch'en Ta-jên 陳大任: 遼史.⁽¹⁾ Both works are now lost.⁽²⁾

The southern group consists of works written by the contemporary Chinese neighbours of the Khitan, the Sung and their immediate predecessors, and of some of the works by the Chinese subjects of the Liao dynasty, who, although living under the Khitan rule, were more Chinese than Khitan. There are discrepancies between accounts of events given in the works of these two groups. Usually

(1) Ch'en Ta-jen's Liao Shih, although compiled in the Chin dynasty, was based on material handed down from the Liao period.

(2) Cf. Feng Chia-sheng, Liao-Shih Yuan-liu Kao.

it is the version of the works of the northern group which is more trustworthy. Unfortunately, the number of works belonging to this group is very small.

The present edition of the official Liao History, the Liao Shih⁽¹⁾ was compiled by the Yuan scholars in 1341 from Ch'ên Ta-jên's Liao Shih and Yeh-lü Yen's Huang-ch'ao Shih-lu -- Ch'ên's work being used as the main source. Material, however, from works of the southern group was also consulted and included.

To collect materials from different sources and weld them into one complete whole is part of the function of historians. Yet, when drawing information from works of both of the above-mentioned groups in compiling a history of the Liao period, one is confronted with a special difficulty which, unfortunately, was overlooked by the Yuan compilers of the Liao History. Consequently, the present edition of the Liao History is the most unreliable of the "Twenty-four Histories".

It was customary in the Liao dynasty for the Khitan

(1) The first section of the Liao History, the Annals, has been translated into German from the Manchu text by H. C. v. d. Gabelentz.

nobility to assume Chinese names in addition to their Khitan names (described in the Liao History as tzǔ 字) and Khitan style (described in the Liao History as "small names", hsiao-tzǔ 小字). Taking as examples the nine rulers of the Liao dynasty, we see that their names are as follows:

Emperors	Khitan names	Khitan styles	Chinese names
T'ai-tsu (907-26)	A-pao-chi(阿保機) (Apaoki)	Ch'uo-li-chih (斡里只)	I (億)
T'ai-tsung (927-46)	Tê-chin(德謹)	Yao-ku(堯骨)	Tê-kuang (德光)
Shih-tsung (947-51)		Wu-yü (元欲)	Yüan (阮元)
Mu-tsung (951-69)		Shu-lü (述律)	Ching (璟)
Ching-tsung (969-82)	Hsien-ning(賢寧)	Ming-ch'i (明辰)	Hsien (賢)
Shêng-tsung (982-1031)		Wên-shu-nu (文殊奴)	Lung-hsü (隆緒)
Hsing-tsung ⁽¹⁾ (1031-55)	I-pu-chin(夷不董)	Chih-ku(只骨)	Tsung-chên(宗真)
Tao-tsung (1055-1101)	Nieh-ling(涅鄰)	Cha-la (查剌)	Hung-chi (洪基)
Tien-tso-ti (1101-25)	Yen-ning(延寧)	Ah-kuo (阿果)	Yen-hsi (延禧)

Nor is this practice confined to names of persons alone.

(1) All these names are drawn from the Liao History. The History of the Khitan Kingdom gives Hsing-tsung's name as Mu-pu-ku .

Places, tribes and even titles of offices might sometimes also have two names.

Sources of our northern group usually used either the Khitan names or the Khitan styles, and those of our southern group the Chinese names. The differences in the names used, coupled with the discrepancies in the different accounts, sometimes make what is really one story into two apparently unconnected stories. Yet, if one compares the different versions carefully, it is not difficult to discover what is common to both. This was, however, not appreciated by the Yuan scholars who finished their work too hastily. They put one version of a story side by side with another version of the same story in which the names were different. Thus there are many passages which are repetitive in the Liao History. In the following pages we shall try to give a few examples of this kind.

The following examples are arranged according to the order of their appearance in the Liao History, except the first two, which seem to me to be the most interesting. The remaining examples, although less important, illustrate best this repetitive nature, and, in fact, it is through

them that we are enabled to discover the mistakes in the first two examples.

(1) The passages concerning the offices of Shu-mi Shih in the chapters on officialdom, Pai Kuan Chih 百官志 .

We have shown that for convenience in governing subjects of different ways of life -- the Khitan and other nomadic tribes on one hand and the Chinese and Pohai on the other -- the Liao emperors established separate Northern and Southern Chancelleries, (Shu-mi Yuan). The officialdom belonging to the Northern Chancellery was known as the Northern Region and that of the Southern Chancellery the Southern Region. For convenience, contemporaries called the Northern Chancellery the Khitan and the Southern Chancellery the Chinese (see above. p. 78 ff). This situation can be best shown by a diagram:

Pei Shu-mi Yuan (the Northern Chancellery)	=	Ch'i-tan Shu-mi Yuan (the Khitan Chancellery)
Nan Shu-mi Yuan (the Southern Chancellery)	=	Han-jên Shu-mi Yuan (the Chinese Chancellery)

In the Liao History, there are four chapters (LS ch.45-48) devoted to the description of the Liao offices, two chapters to each of the two Regions. In the preface to the chapters on the Northern Region, the compilers give us a brief

survey of the development of the Liao officialdom in which is included an account of the post of the Shu-mi Shih. The preface reads as follows:

"The officialdom of the Liao state was divided into a Northern and a Southern Yuan (Chancellery). The Northern Region dealt with affairs concerning the ordo, the imperial clans, the tribes and the vassal states. The Southern Region dealt with the civil and military affairs of the cities and towns inhabited by the Chinese. This was a wise policy to govern these peoples of different ways of life each in accordance with its own customs.

Previously, T'ai-tsu divided the post of I-li-chin, the chieftainship of the I-la tribe, into a Northern Great King and a Southern Great King and named the two new tribes the Pei Yuan and the Nan Yuan (the Tribes of the Northern Division and the Tribe of the Southern Division). The offices originally attached to that tribe, such as the Tsai-hsaing, the Shu-mi Shih _____, the Hsüan-hui (Shih), the Lin-ya down to that of Lang-chün and Hu-wei were each divided into southern and northern. But all the business that these offices dealt with were

exclusively concerned with the Northern Region. This must be borne in mind by those who study the institutions of the Liao dynasty.

The functions of the Khitan offices, if we try to explain them with Chinese terms, are as follows: the Pei Shu-mi Shih (Northern Chancellor) was comparable to the Ping Pu (Minister of War), the Nan Shu-mi Shih (Southern Chancellor) was comparable to the Li Pu (Minister of Civil Services), the Nan Ta-wang and Pei Ta-wang (the Southern and Northern Kings) were comparable to the Hu Pu (Minister of Civil Affairs), the I-li-pi was comparable to the Hsing Pu (Minister of Justice), the Hsüan-hui Shih was comparable to the Li Pu (Minister of the Board of Rites). They were supervised by the Pei Tsai-hsiang and the Nan Tsai-hsiang (the Northern and the Southern Chief Ministers) ..

In the Khitan court, therefore, the government activities were few, and the duties were clear-cut.

This is the reason why the Liao dynasty achieved power."

After this preface they give a more detailed account of the "Ch'i-tan Northern Chancellery" and "Ch'i-tan Southern Chancellery" as follows:

"Ch'i-tan Pei Shu-mi Yuan (the Khitan Northern Chancellery) was in charge of the administration of military affairs, the selection of officers and horsebreeding. All the Khitan forces and horses were under its control. As its "tent-office" was situated north of the royal camp, it was known as the Northern Chancellery (Pei Shu-mi Yuan)

Ch'i-tan Nan-shu-mi Yuan (the Khitan Southern Chancellery) was in charge of the administration of civil affairs, selection of officials and the taxation of the tribes and imperial clans. All the Khitan civilians were under its control. As its tent-office was situated south of the royal camp, it was known as the Southern Chancellery (Nan Shu-mi Yuan).⁽¹⁾

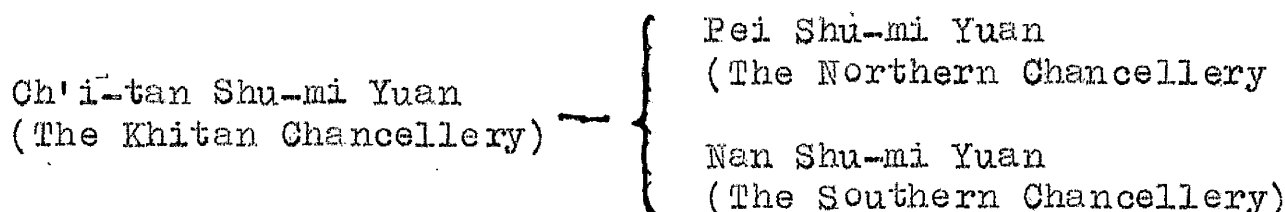
Again, under the entry of "Chinese Chancellery" (Han-jên Shu-mi Yuan) in the first of the two chapters devoted to the Southern Region, they state:

"In the early years of T'ai-tsu's reign, a Chinese Board (Han-erh-ssŭ 漢兒司) was established. Han Chih-ku was the Head in charge of that office. After

(1) Liao Shih, ch.45, 2a-3a.

Emperor T'ai-tsung had entered Pien (-liang), he adopted the governmental system of the Chin and established a Shu-mi Yuan (Chancellery). It was entrusted with the administration of the military affairs of the Chinese. At first it exercised concurrently the functions of the Shang-shu Shêng (Department of State of Affairs).⁽¹⁾

From the accounts quoted above, the Yuan scholars' view of these offices can also be shown in a diagram:



V.

Han-jên Shu-mi Yuan
(The Chinese Chancellery)

If one compares this with our earlier reconstruction, it will be found that it is wrong. Why was this mistake made?

To my mind, the section of the Liao History devoted to the Northern Region (LS ch.45-46) is based on an earlier

(1) Liao Shih, ch.47, 3a.

work, presumably the chapter on officialdom in either Ch'ên Ta-jên's Liao Shih or Yeh-lü Yen's Huang-ch'ao shih-lu and the section devoted to the Southern Region (LS.ch.47-48) is entirely the work of the Yuan compilers. As, from the point of view of the Khitan court, the Southern Chancellery (the Chancellery for the Chinese) was less important than the Northern (the Chancellery for the Khitan), the compilers of the chapter on officialdom on which the present Pai-kuan Chih is based, while giving a full account of the offices belonging to the Northern Chancellery, made no more attempt to explain the Southern Chancellery than merely mentioning its existence in a short passage under the title "(Ch'i-tan) Nan Shu-mi Yuan" (i.e. the passage quoted above, p.251).

The term "Ch'i-tan", however, in the entry "Ch'i-tan Nan Shu-mi Yuan", as well as its counterpart in the entry "Ch'i-tan Pei Shu-mi Yuan", are both interpolations by the Yuan compilers. As explained above, the Northern Chancellery was the Khitan and the Southern Chancellery was the Chinese. The Khitan Chancellery itself had never been divided into Northern and Southern branches.⁽¹⁾

(1) See above, p.93.

The division of each of the offices of the I-la tribe after it had been split into two, into a southern and a northern section, was probably partly responsible for the Yuan compilers' mistake. They knew that there was a special Shu-mi Yuan for the Khitan and another for the Chinese. Again, they frequently came across the terms Pei Shu-mi Yuan and Nan Shu-mi Yuan. Through identifying the Han-jên Shu-mi Yuan with the Shu-mi Yuan for the Chinese, they thought both the Pei Shu-mi Yuan and the Nan Shu-mi Yuan, like those dual offices created after the split of the I-la tribe, must be for the Khitan. They then interpolated "Ch'i-tan" in the entries described above.

Knowing that there was a Shu-mi Yuan for the Chinese, and, failing to appreciate the fact that the Nan Shu-mi Yuan was the Chinese Shu-mi Yuan they had in mind, the Yuan compilers, while drafting the special section for the posts belonging to the Chinese Shu-mi Yuan, left the above-mentioned passage about the Nan Shu-mi Yuan as it stood, instead of incorporating it into their new chapters. Thus the mistake was made.

If the above reading of the situation is correct, we

can say that the two chapters on the Southern Region can be regarded as a repetition of the entry "Ch'i-tan Nan Shu-mi Yuan" included in the first chapter on the Northern Region.

(2) The names of tribes in the chapters on tribes, Pu-tsu Chih 部族志.

Two chapters in the Liao History are devoted to the description of the tribes. Chapter (A) (LS 32) gives an account of the following tribes before the foundation of the Liao state by Apaoki: (a) the Ancient Eight Tribes, (b) the Ten Tribes during the Chinese Sui dynasty, (c) Ta-ho' Eight Tribes, (d) Yao-nien's Eight Tribes and (e) the Twenty Tribes of Tsu-wu Khan of the Yao-nien House.

Chapter (B) (LS 33) gives an account of the following tribes after the foundation of the Liao: (a) the Twenty Tribes of T'ai-tsu (Apaoki) and (b) the Thirty-four tribes of Shêng-tsung.

A study of the contents shows that chapter (A) was drawn mainly from the Monographs on the Khitan (the Ch'i-tan Chuan 契丹傳) attached to the various histories of the pre-Liao Chinese dynasties, that is from material of our southern group. Occasionally, information from

the northern group was also used. Chapter (B) was drawn entirely from the chapter on tribes (Pu-tsu Chih) of the original edition of the Liao Shih, that is, from material of our northern group. This chapter is fairly trustworthy, and we shall make no further mention of it here.

In Chapter (A), under the entry of "the Twenty Tribes of Tsu-wu Khan of the Yao-nien House", the text reads:

"The Twenty Tribes of Tsu-wu Khan:
 Seven Yeh-lü Tribes
 Five Shên-mi Tribes
 'Eight Tribes'."

and under this heading the following is given:

"Nieh-li, while holding the office of Chief Minister of Tsu-wu Khan, divided the three Yeh-lü tribes into seven, and the two Shên-mi tribes into five. These with the old 'Eight tribes' made altogether twenty.

"The three Yeh-lü tribes were the Ta-ho, the Yao-nien and the Shih-li -- all of them royal. The two Shên-mi tribes were the I-shih-chi and the Pa-li -- both of them the consort tribes [from which the Khitan Kho-tun (empress) were chosen.]

"The details of the division of the tribes are unknown. The names of the tribes known to us after the division are I-la, I-shih, P'in, Chu-tê, Wu-wei,

T'u-lū-pu, Nieh-la and T'u-chü. Apart from these, we know another two tribes -- one called the "Great Right Tribe" and the other the "Great Left Tribe". Altogether, therefore, we have the names of ten tribes and those of the two others remain unknown.

Among the three Yeh-lū tribes, Ta-ho and Yao-nien were divided into six units, whereas the Shih-li were combined into one. This was the reason why towards the end of the Yao-nien dynasty the I-la (i.e. the Shih-li) tribe was too powerful to be kept under control."

In this passage the compilers speak of the Seven Yeh-lū tribes as existing at the same time as the "Eight Tribes", making twenty in all. This is a mistake. The account of the Seven Yeh-lū and Five Shên-mi was handed down from the Pu-tsu Chih of the original edition of the Liao Shih. This can be proved from the consistency of the terms used in this section of the Liao History with those used in other parts. The "Eight Tribes" refers to the Yao-nien Eight Tribes given in a preceding entry⁽¹⁾

(1) The names of these eight tribes are Tan-li-chieh, I-shih-huo, Shih-huo, Na-wei, P'in-mo, Na-hui-chi, Chi-chieh and Hsi-yün.

which was apparently drawn from Ou-Yang Hsiu's New History of the Five Dynasties -- a work of our southern group. Therefore, either the "Eight Tribes" were the alternative names for eight tribes among the twelve, or they must have existed at an earlier date. This is an important question in the history of the Liao times, which cannot be fully enlarged upon at the moment. Here, however, we can say that, in one sense, the account of the "Eight Tribes" is a repetition of the account of the Seven Yeh-lü and Five Shên-mi Tribes.

(3) "Liu Ch'êng" 劉晟 and "Liu Shên-hsing" 劉慎行 .

The Liao History (ch.16, 2b) records:

"On the day of jên-hsü in the eleventh moon of the seventh year of K'ai-t'ai (1018), Liu Ch'êng was appointed prefect of Pa-chou. Liu Shên-hsing, the Northern Chief Minister, was appointed prefect of Chang-wu Chün."

Liu Ch'êng and Liu Shên-hsing are apparently names of two different persons. We know, however, that Ch'ang-wu Chün is another name of Pa-chou.⁽¹⁾ It follows then that

(1) Liao Shih 39, 5b.

two persons were appointed on the same day to the same post. A study of the biography of Liu Shên-hsing in the Liao History (ch.85) and of other material pertaining to the name of Liu Ch'êng enables us to conclude that Liu Shên-hsing is the literary name of Liu Ch'êng and the second half of the above passage is a repetition of the first.

(4) "Hsiao Hui" 蕭惠 and "Kuan Ning" 管寧 .

The Liao History (ch.18, 7b) records:

"On the day of hsin-hai in the eleventh moon of the sixth year of Ch'ung-hsi (1037), Hsiao Hui, the superintendent of the Khitan subjects under the ordo was appointed Southern Chancellor (Shu-mi Shih).

"On the day of jên-tzŭ (i.e. the day following hsin-hai) Kuan Ning was appointed Southern Chancellor."

Here again, Hsiao Hui and Kuan Ning are apparently two persons. Passages concerning Kuan Ning in various parts of the Liao History assert that in the fifth moon of 1037 he was appointed from Shih-chung to be superintendent of the ordo, and that in 1041 he held the post of Southern Chancellor and was enfeoffed the Prince of Chao. In the

twelfth moon of that year the emperor consulted with him and Hsiao Hsiao-mu, the Northern Chancellor, on the measures to be taken in order to reclaim from the Sung the land of the ten hsien (counties)⁽¹⁾. There is also a biography of Hsiao Hui (LS 93) in which it is stated:

"After Emperor Hsing-tsung came to the throne (in 1032) he was bestowed the honorary title of Shih-chung. In the sixth year of Ch'ung-hsi (1037), he was again appointed Superintendent of the Khitan subjects under the ordo, and was enfeoffed Prince of Chao. Soon afterwards he was appointed Southern Chancellor."

The Biography then gives an account of a conference held between the Emperor, Hsiao Hsiao-mu, the Northern Chancellor and Hsiao Hui himself. In the conference the Emperor held that they should reclaim the territory lost to Sung. Hsiao Hui was in favour of this policy, whereas Hsiao Hsiao-mu was against it. It is obvious that Hsiao Hui

(1) These ten counties were part of the sixteen prefectures ceded to Liao by Shih Ching-t'ang in 937. In 959, Ch'ai Jung, one of the emperors of the Later Chou of the Five Dynasties, recovered them from the Liao. After they replaced the Chou, the Sung inherited this piece of land.

and Kuan Ning are the same person. The second half of the passage quoted at the beginning of this section is a repetition of the first.

(5) "Hsiao Ying" 蕭英 and "Hsiao T'ê-mo" 蕭特末 .

The Liao History (ch.19, 2a) records:

"On the day of i-wei in the twelfth moon of the tenth year of Ch'ung-hsi (1041), being informed that the Sung authorities were repairing the walls of (the frontier) cities, deepening moats and building swamps, the Emperor feared that they might cause troubles on the frontier. He summoned the Northern Chancellor, the Prince of Wu, Hsiao Hsiao-mu and the Southern Chancellor, the Prince of Chao, Ksiao Kuan-ning to discuss how to recover from the Sung the land of the ten counties south of the Pass [of Wa-ch'iao-kuan]⁽¹⁾. Thereupon Hsiao Ying and Liu Liu-fu were despatched as envoys to the court of Sung."

Later we find another passage referring to an event which is said to have happened in the following month:

(1) Cf. p. 152 note.

"On the day of kên-hsü in the first moon of the eleventh year of Ch'ung-hsi (1042) (i.e. 15 days after the date of the above passage) Hsiao T'ê-mo, the Southern Hsüan-hui Shih, and Liu Liu-fu, the Han-lin Hsüeh-shih, were sent as envoys to the Sung to reclaim the territory of Chin-Yang and the ten hsien south of Wa-ch'iao-kuan, and to ask why the Sung had attacked the Hsia and why they had repaired the "swamps"⁽¹⁾ along the border and increased their military forces."

At first sight, the second passage seems to be a reiteration of the first, with the appointment of Hsiao T'ê-mo in substitution for Hsiao Ying. But actually Hsiao Ying is the Chinese name of Hsiao T'ê-mo.⁽²⁾ The second passage is, therefore, a repetition of the first. Presumably one source records the mission at its first appointment and the other on its departure from the Liao court.

(6) "Ya-tzŭ-ho" 鴨子河 and "Hun-t'ung-chiang" 混同江.

The Liao History (ch.27, 6b,) records:

(1) For the "swamps", see p. 152.

(2) Cf. Liao Shih, ch.86, 5a.

"On the day of chi-wei in the first moon of the second year of T'ien-ch'ing (1112), the Emperor set off for the Ta-tzŭ-ho River. On the day of ting-yu of the second moon, the Emperor left for Ch'un Chou. Then he went to Hun-t'ung-chiang River in order to fish. Chieftains of the uncivilized Jurchen tribes who lived within a radius of one thousand li came from beyond the border to pay homage to the Emperor as they had done for years.

"In the celebration of the Fish Festival, a banquet was being given. In the course of the banquet, the Emperor came to the front of his camp and asked all the chieftains to take their turn at dancing. Aguta alone refused, saying that he knew nothing about dancing. Although the order was repeated several times, he steadfastly refused to obey.

"Several days later the Emperor secretly said to Hsiao Fêng-hsien, the Chancellor: 'On the day of the Fish Festival Aguta showed great vigour and courage. He conducted himself heroically. Trump up some such charge as that he has been causing trouble on the frontier and have him put to death. Otherwise he will become a threat to the security of the Empire.'

'He is an uneducated man,' replied the Chancellor, 'and knows little about good manners. To have him put to death when he is guilty of no serious offence will alienate sympathy from your rule. Even if he were to plot an insurrection, what could he do [with so small a tribe]? (And Aguta was spared)."

As a rule, the Liao emperors went to ascertain rivers to fish in the first moon of each year. Ya-tzŭ-ho was the river where most of their fishing was held. In 1024 Emperor Shêng-tsung renamed this river Hun-t'ung-chiang. The old name was, however, sometimes still in use. In this passage Ya-tzŭ-ho and Hun-t'ung-chiang appear at the same time. Both the juxtaposition of the two names of the same river and the duplication of the description of the fish activity (although nothing is said about fishing by the emperor in the first sentence, we know that he went to Ya-tzŭ-ho for that purpose) indicate the repetitive nature of the text. A further examination of the text enables us to point out that the description of the emperor's journey to Hun-t'ung-chiang was taken from the History of the Ch'i-tan Kingdom, whereas the account of his journey to Ya-tzŭ-ho is drawn from the

original edition of the Liao Shih.

(7) "Hsiao Fêng-hsien" 蕭奉先 and "Hsiao Tê-li-ti" 蕭得里

The Liao History (ch.29, 2b) records:

"On the day of ping-yin in the third moon of the second year of Pao-ta (1122), the Emperor arrived in Nü-ku-ti-ts'ang. Hearing that the Jurchen army was approaching he did not know what to do. He fled on a swift horse to Chia-shan. He began to realize that Hsiao Fêng-hsien, the Chancellor, had been disloyal. He said angrily to Fêng-hsien: 'It is you and your sons who have led me to such a pass. Even if I put you to death, it is too late to save the situation. In view of the soldiers' hatred of your avoidance of the enemy and preference of improper ease, I myself might be involved into disaster. Do not follow me!' Hsiao Fêng-hsien, dismounted from his horse, wept and bowed to the Emperor and then went away. He had not gone many li before he and his son were bound up by his followers, who handed them over to the Jurchen soldiers. The Jurchen soldiers beheaded his elder son Ang, and sent Fêng-hsien and his younger son Yü to the Jurchen emperor. On their way (to the Jurchen)

they came upon the Khitan troops who captured them and sent them back to the Emperor. He bestowed on them the privilege of committing suicide."

Immediately after the above passage it is recorded:

"The Emperor expelled the Chancellor Hsiao Tê-li-ti."

Thus the Emperor deported on the same day the Chancellor Hsiao Tê-li-ti and the Chancellor Hsiao Fêng-hsien. In the Liao History there are biographies of both Hsiao Fêng-hsien and Hsiao Tê-li-ti. The biography of Hsiao Fêng-hsien devotes most of its pages to the two stories about him described above -- his dissuasion of the Emperor from putting Aguta to death and his dismissal by the Emperor. We need not quote the text here again. The biography of Hsiao Tê-li-ti reads as follows:

"When the Jurchen first revolted, most of the high officials desired to attack them before they were prepared. Tê-li-ti alone disagreed. T'ien-tso, who realized that Tê-li-ti was unpopular, degraded him to the office of Commissioner in charge of the Punitive Affairs on the South-western Sector. In the eighth year (1118) he was again appointed Northern Chancellor and was trusted by the Emperor more than

ever.

"At that time every district (on the north-eastern frontier) was in turmoil. Messages appealing for reinforcements came to the court in quick succession, but Tê-li-ti did not report them to the emperor immediately. In the army, merit received no reward. Thus all ranks, from the general downwards, grew angry; and nobody was willing to fight any more. In the second year of Pao-ta (1122) the Jurchen army advanced to the east of the Ling⁽¹⁾. Yeh-lü Sa-pa and Si-ch'i-sa-pa plotted to put the Prince of Chin, Ao-lu-wa (one of the sons of the emperor) on the throne. This plot was divulged. The Emperor summoned Tê-li-ti and said: 'The conspirators are certainly making use of this child as a figurehead. If we don't get rid of him, how can we live in peace?' Tê-li-ti said nothing on the Prince's behalf. After the execution of the Prince the unpopularity of the Emperor increased.

(1) The "Ling" refers probably to the mountain range running from north to south along the border of Jehol and Chahar, what is now called Fêng-huang Shan.

"As the Jurchen army came across to the west of the Ling, T'ien-tso fled westwards with his bodyguard. The Empress Hsiao was the niece of Tê-li-ti, to whom she said: 'You are responsible for affairs of the state. You have brought the Emperor to such a pass. How can you go on living?' Tê-li-ti could make no other reply than apology. The next day T'ien-tso became angry with Tê-li-ti and deported him and his son Ma-sa.

"After departing from T'ien-tso, Tê-li-ti was bound up and handed over to the Jurchen soldiers by Yeh-lü Kao-shan-nu. Making use of negligence on the part of the guards, Tê-li-ti escaped. On his way back he was again captured by Yeh-lü Chiu-chin who sent him to Yeh-lü Ch'un who had by then usurped the throne. Tê-li-ti knew that his life would not be spared. So he said: 'I will not serve a usurper.' He refused to eat and died a few days later. His son Ma-sa was put to death by the Jurchen soldiers."

An examination of the life of Hsiao Tê-li-ti cited here will lead us to conclude that Hsiao Fêng-hsien and Hsiao Tê-li-ti are different names of the same person. Therefo

the long passage at the beginning of this section is a repetition of the short passage "The Emperor expelled the Chancellor Hsiao Tê-li-ti," and the biography of Hsiao Fêng-hsien and that of Hsiao Tê-li-ti are biographies of the same person.

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 SPTK Ssu-pu ts'ung-k'an 四部叢刊
 TSCC Ts'ung-shu chi-ch'eng 叢書集成

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Chin Shih 金史 (SPPY)

Yuan Shih 元史 (SPPY)

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